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EASTERN ELEMENTS IN WESTERN CHANT

STUDIES IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC

BY

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TO

THE MEMORY

OF

HENRY C. COLLES

PREFACE

THE history of the origin and early development of the music used in the various rites of the Eastern and Western Churches has still to be written. This ought to be one of the main tasks of musicological research in the near future, and the facts will have to be collected from all the sources available: liturgical documents, ecclesiastical poetry, and musical manuscripts.

The principal question facing every scholar who wishes to study the origins of ecclesiastical music is, of course, first whether there is a direct connexion between Byzantine music and Plainchant; secondly, if such a connexion exists, whether the melodies originated in Byzantium or whether they derived from some common Eastern source, viz. the music of the Early Christian Churches and, further back, the chants of the Jewish liturgy of the Synagogue. Lastly, if these questions can be answered affirmatively, was such an influence the only one to make itself felt, or did local pagan hymnography and religious music play its part in this development?

The present work may be considered as a modest attempt to prepare the ground for such a history, by applying to these questions for the first time the vast material collected from Byzantine musical manuscripts by the editors of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. I intended originally to write a short study on the occurrence of some Byzantine hymns in the Beneventan liturgy of the eleventh century. Investigations into the origin of these hymns and their place in the Western rite showed however that the question could not be examined independently, but required a wider treatment. These studies, which I started in Vienna, were interrupted for a short time in 1938, and have since been continued in Oxford.

I know that it would require several more years to bring my inquiries to a conclusion adequate to the importance of the problem. But I hope that the four studies which I present here in book form may be considered sufficient as an introduction to the problem of Eastern elements in Western chant.

These elements are threefold: first, Eastern melodies taken over by the Eastern or the Western Church, or by both, and adapted to the Greek and Latin languages respectively; secondly, Eastern melodies with Greek texts, introduced into the Western rite; thirdly, Byzantine melodies which came to the West as isolated specimens at a late date and were taken over as venerable relics.

In the course of my investigations I saw how important it was to

keep these different elements clearly separate, in order to distinguish between the broad stream of Eastern influences in the first centuries, later borrowings of Eastern melodies which retained their Greek words, and finally the use of Byzantine hymns with a corrupt Greek text, which exercised no influence at all on early Western medieval music. In order to make this distinction clear it was often necessary to make a somewhat meticulous investigation into minute details of the melodic structure of Byzantine and Western chant. This kind of analysis was necessary to avoid the many mistakes and faulty conclusions which result from a vague treatment of problems connected with textual criticism in music.

As will be seen from the Introduction, the practical impulse to write the present book came from a member of the Benedictine Congregation at Solesmes. I desire to express my deepest gratitude to Dom J. Gayard, O.S.B., editor of the *Paléographie Musicale*, for having sent me the photographs of all the Western manuscripts required for the study of the bilingual antiphon *O quando in cruce*, and given me permission to reproduce them in this book. I wish also to express here my great admiration for the work which he and his collaborators are carrying on in the spirit of Dom A. Mocquereau, the founder of the *Paléographie Musicale*, to whom we owe the restoration of the Gregorian melodies.

In the task of tracing out the relationship between the melodic formulae in Byzantine hymns and Ambrosian chant, I obtained valuable help from my revered friend Dom G. Suñol, O.S.B., President of the Pontifical School of Sacred Music at the Vatican, who is the greatest authority on Ambrosian chant.

As the reader will see from the Introduction, the comparative studies of Eastern and Western chant are based on the transcriptions made from the treasury of Byzantine melodies on a very large scale. Several thousand melodies had to be transcribed before this task could be undertaken. In this difficult and arduous work my former pupils at the *Siège scientifique* of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* in Vienna, Miss M. Stöhr and Miss A. Papadopoulou (Athens), took a very active part in 1934–8. Miss Papadopoulou was enabled by a grant from the Ministry of Education at Athens to continue collaborating with me at Oxford in 1939. It gives me great pleasure to express here to Miss Papadopoulou the thanks of the editors of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* and particularly my own gratitude for her splendid work.

For reading and correcting the manuscript of my book I have to thank Father Valentine Wood, O.P., of Blackfriars, Oxford, and Mrs. Katherine Macdonald. Father Valentine especially gave me most valuable assistance by discussing with me various questions connected with Western liturgy, thus helping me to formulate them in a way which may have made them clear to those not trained in this difficult subject. Miss Patricia Kean undertook the final revision of the manuscript, read the proofs with meticulous care, and compiled the Index, that most necessary but troublesome addition to a work of this kind.

My work has been greatly facilitated by the help which I received from the staff of the Bodleian, who made it possible for me to consult the manuscripts and books necessary for the work in which I was engaged. I am deeply obliged to Father Gervase Mathew, O.P., for having obtained access for me to the library of the Dominicans at Blackfriars, Oxford, and to Professor F. L. Cross, then Librarian of Pusey House. I have to thank Mr. Paul Hirsch of Cambridge for the loan of some indispensable books from his unique musicological library, then deposited in the Cambridge University Library.

I am particularly indebted to Professor Thomas Whittemore, Director of the Byzantine Institute, Boston, for generously including this work in the American series of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. We discussed the plan of the new series in the presence of our mutual friend Father Gervase Mathew when Professor Whittemore visited Oxford in November 1941. Within a few days agreement was reached about the scheme of our intended publications at a meeting with Professor H. J. W. Tillyard in London. By the spring of 1942 my manuscript was ready for press. But by this time the problem of printing had become very difficult and it was not solved until the spring of 1946, when the Oxford University Press was able to print the work. I am deeply grateful to the Union Académique Internationale and to the British Academy for the continued interest and support they have given to the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, and in particular to Professor G. W. Leland, President of the Union Académique Internationale, and to Sir Frederic Kenyon, Secretary to the British Academy.

I have reserved to the end the expression of my indebtedness to the man to whose memory this book is dedicated; but I cannot conclude my book without stating that I was only enabled to write it through the encouragement and help which I received from my dear friend, H. C. Colles, who invited me to come to England in March 1938 and who prepared a second home for me here.

E. W.

LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.
October 1946.

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INTRODUCTION

For some time past musicologists working on Plainsong and Early Medieval music have expressed the view that some relationship must exist between the chant of the Byzantine Church and that of the West. This view seemed convincing to all who knew of the connexion between Byzantine and Western liturgy. Yet it could not be proved as long as the rich treasury of Byzantine melodies was inaccessible; so long, in fact, as obstacles remained in the way of deciphering the notation in which these melodies were written down.

The striking similarity between the early stage of Byzantine notation and Latin neums led J.-B. Thibaut to frame a theory of the Byzantine origin of Latin neums.[1] The affinity between the liturgies of the Eastern and Western Churches led A. Gastoué to trace the beginnings of Gregorian chant back to the melodies of the Synagogue. He also suggested that Gnostic and Magical songs, and even Graeco-Roman music in general, had influenced Byzantine music to some extent.[2] Both theories have been accepted by scholars who have studied the music of Early Christian times.[3] Moreover, these theories made it possible to start from what was already known of Gregorian chant, and make deductions which threw much light on the hitherto unexplored sphere of Byzantine music.

Obviously these observations were confined to generalities. They could not be verified as long as it was impossible to decipher the melodies of the best period of Byzantine hymnography, which are transmitted in a great number of manuscripts with musical notation dating from the ninth to the fifteenth century.

Many attempts have in fact been made to deduce the nature of Byzantine music in the days of the Empire from Greek music as it is sung nowadays at the divine service, but the results must be rejected as untenable.[4] It is well known that contemporary Greek ecclesiastical music has developed from Byzantine chant. But in the course of the fifteenth century a process of transformation began which entirely changed the original musical character of these melodies. In addition to this development we perceive a tendency for musicians to write

[1] J.-B. Thibaut, *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'église latine* (Paris, 1907).

[2] A. Gastoué, *Les Origines du chant romain*, Bibliothèque musicologique, p. 188 (Paris, 1907).

[3] H. Riemann, *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1909); P. Wagner, *Neumenkunde, Paläographie des liturgischen Gesanges* (Leipzig, 1912); J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1913).

[4] This method is expounded in a book by K. A. Psachos, *Ἡ παρασημαντικὴ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς* (Athens, 1917), and is refuted in a penetrating review by H. J. W. Tillyard on 'The Stenographic Theory of Byzantine Music', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. xxv, and in *Laudate*, vol. ii, no. 4.

new melodies in the manner of the old. Hence it is clear that for the purpose of investigation we can only use manuscripts of a period prior to this process of transformation.

Some twenty years ago H. J. W. Tillyard and I succeeded, independently, in deciphering the neums of the so-called 'Middle Byzantine' musical notations.[1] Later investigations have confirmed the correctness of our method. Thus we were able to proceed a step further and to draw up a scheme for the transcription of Byzantine neums into our present staff notation. This was done at a conference at Copenhagen in 1931, proposed by C. Höeg on behalf of the Rask-Oersted Foundation.[2] As a result of this conference it was also decided to start publication of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. In order to collect material, Professor Höeg was sent by the Royal Danish Academy, with a grant from the Carlsberg Foundation, to Greece and the Near East to take photographs of all the necessary manuscripts.[3]

The rich material collected by Höeg during his journey enabled Tillyard and me to start systematic transcriptions of the melodies, based on the comparison of a number of codices, all containing the same melodies, often in different versions. The first result of this work can be studied in the two volumes of the *Transcripta*[4] of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, containing nearly 200 melodies. In addition to these, about 1,000 hymns have been transcribed by Professor Tillyard, and more than 2,500 by my collaborators and myself in recent years.[5]

This brief survey of the development of studies in Byzantine music

[1] E. Wellesz, 'Die Entzifferung der byzantinischen Notenschrift', *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., vol. vii (1918); 'Die Rhythmik der byzantinischen Neumen', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. ii (1920) and vol. iii (1921); H. J. W. Tillyard, 'Signatures and Cadences of the Byzantine Modes', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. xxvi (1923–4; 1924–5).

[2] I have given a short account of this conference and its results in *Acta Musicologica* (Leipzig, 1931), pp. 175 seqq., and in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, vol. xiv (1931–2), 61 seq.

[3] See Preface to the first volume of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (1935), and *Compte rendu de la quinzième session annuelle du comité de l'union académique internationale.*

[4] E. Wellesz, 'Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September', *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Transcripta*, vol. i (1935); H. J. W. Tillyard, 'The Hymns of the Sticherarium for November', *M.M.B. Transcripta*, vol. ii (1938).

[5] We should mention here the transcriptions of a great part of the Hirmologion Cod. Grottaferrata E. γ. II made some years ago by Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard, published in various articles, and in his edition of the *'Εωθινὰ Ἀναστάσιμα* from the Sticherarion, under the title 'The Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vol. xxx (1928–30) and vol. xxxi (1931–3). Mention must also be made of the transcriptions of melodies from the Sticherarion and Hirmologion, published in *Trésor de musique byzantine*, vol. i (Paris, 1934: *Éditions de l'oiseau-lyre*), and by J. D. Petresco in his book, *Les Idiomèles et le canon de l'office de Noël* (Paris, 1932); it must be stated, however, that the method applied by Petresco differs from the principles accepted by the editors of the *M.M.B.*

shows that it has only recently become possible to study the structure and character of the melodies of Byzantine hymns,[1] and to compare them with those of the Western Church. Before entering on any detailed examination of the melodies themselves, the close connexion between music and words in both Byzantine and Gregorian chant may be noted as of special significance.

Part of this study will serve to substantiate this phenomenon. As was to be expected, the comparison of transcriptions of Byzantine and Gregorian[2] melodies showed an obvious relationship between a number of them. But only a detailed examination will reveal the degree of this relationship and help to determine whether the similarities observed between particular Byzantine and Gregorian hymns can be called 'influences', in the strict sense of the word, or whether they must be considered as symptoms of a more general affinity in melodies with common origin in the Near East and the Mediterranean Basin.

On the other hand, mention must be made of a factor which obscures the task of discovering the relationship between these two groups of chants. The melodies of both Eastern and Western Churches were not only subject to development during the course of centuries, but also to variations as a result of local usages. We can therefore assume that more connexions may have existed at an earlier date which were later obscured. Nor must the possibility be overlooked that the greater number of Byzantine melodies preserved in Medieval manuscripts are chants composed for, or adapted to, poems, whereas the Gregorian melodies were mostly sung to the words of the Office and the Mass, which were composed in a kind of poetical prose or even in pure prose.

This difference makes comparison difficult. Until the present time, therefore, it was only possible to state the fact of relationship in general terms, and to suppose that the main body of Byzantine, as well as Gregorian, melodies derived from common Syro-Palestinian sources.[3]

[1] The term 'hymn' is employed by the editors of the *M.M.B.* for words and melodies which are contained in the two great collections of ecclesiastical songs, the Hirmologion and the Sticherarion. These collections are the main sources for our knowledge of Byzantine music. The chants contained in the Hirmologion and the Sticherarion were sung during the two main Hours in the Byzantine rite, 'Hesperinos' (corresponding to Vespers of the Western Church) and 'Orthros' (corresponding to Matins). 'Hymn' is used in the wide sense found in the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Greek Fathers, and not in the restricted sense customary in the Latin Church, where *hymnus* denotes a certain species of ecclesiastical song. St. Romanos himself applied the term in the same sense in his Kontakion on Pentecost, saying in the 17th Troparion: *'Υμνήσωμεν ἀδελφοὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τὰς γλώσσας, ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ κομψῷ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θείᾳ ἐξώργησαν πάντας* (Pitra, Anal. Sacra I, p. 164).

[2] Various designations are used for the melodies of the Western Church: Plainchant, Plainsong, Gregorian melodies. The last is not restricted to melodies used in the Roman rite after the reform by Pope Gregory I († 604), but also includes those contained in the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic rites, which remained independent of the reforming influence of Gregory I.

[3] See my book, *Aufgaben und Probleme auf dem Gebiete der byzantinischen und orientalischen*

This theory is strongly supported by the fact that the Ambrosian melodies, which of all the various types of Gregorian chant show the most striking resemblance[1] to Byzantine melodies of the best period of hymnography, are considered to be the oldest form of Plainchant preserved in those manuscripts whose notation can be deciphered.

Apart from the various traces of relationship between the two groups of Eastern and Western chant, the existence in Plainchant of melodies of Byzantine origin is confirmed by another fact. A number of melodies with Greek texts have been discovered in Latin manuscripts, but it was impossible to find a convincing explanation for their appearance in these manuscripts. New examples of melodies with Greek texts have recently been published in the fourteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*,[2] which contains the facsimile and the description of a Gradual of Benevento. Dom R. J. Hesbert, author of a very profound study of the liturgical tradition of Benevento for this volume, asked me by letter in 1936 whether these melodies with Greek texts, transcribed into Latin characters in Codex Benevent. VI. 38, were also to be found in Byzantine manuscripts.

The result of my investigations was an affirmative answer.[3] Beyond the scope of this conclusion, which could easily be reached by a comparison between the photographs sent to me from Solesmes and those of Byzantine melodies in my possession, lay the problem of the relationship between Byzantine and Gregorian melodies in general, which seemed to me to require a more extended treatment.

The bilingual antiphon *O quando in cruce*, its place in liturgy, its text, and its music will be one of the main subjects of the following investigations. I have chosen this antiphon for the purpose of an extensive study not only on account of its importance both liturgically and musically, but also because I was able, in this special case, to collect all the material necessary for a soundly based study of the Eastern influences in Plainchant. It will be necessary, however, to deal with questions of a more general character in connexion with the occurrence of this same Byzantine melody in a few Beneventan manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and also in an eleventh-century manuscript of the library of Modena, most certainly written at Ravenna. But before we can examine the Greek model of the anti-

Kirchenmusik, Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen, Heft 6 (Münster, 1923), and my paper on 'Byzantine Music' in *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, vol. lix (1932–3).

[1] For this information I am indebted to Dom G. Suñol, O.S.B., editor of the *Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (1915).

[2] *Paléographie musicale*, xiv, p. 308: 'Graduel Bénéventain (XIe siècle), Cod. 10673 de la Bibliothèque vaticane, fonds latin' (1931–6).

[3] Cited by Dom Hesbert, *Pal. mus.* xiv, p. 308.

phon, the Troparion *῞Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ*, we must give a short survey of Byzantine notation and of its method of determining the intervals and expressing a melody in script.

The question will be raised as to how far the character of a melody is affected, in Byzantine music and in Plainchant, by putting new words to a chant, or—in this as in other cases—by setting Latin words to a melody which was formerly sung with a Greek text. Further, we shall compare the condition of a Byzantine melody on Italian soil with the transmission of the same melody in Byzantine manuscripts.

From these investigations of a special case we shall be able to proceed on a new basis to the examination of the relationship between Byzantine music and Plainchant in general. Finally we shall have to deal with the question of the origin of melodies with Greek texts in Western Medieval musical manuscripts, and to investigate the problem of the origin of Sequences and Tropes, which provides the clue to the development of Early Medieval music.

Several scholars have already made studies on the problem of whether all the melodies, even those with Greek words, were of purely Roman origin or whether they owe their existence to Early Christian and Byzantine influence. Most of these studies were written in the first decade of the twentieth century and occasioned by the revival of Plainchant. At that time hardly anything was known of Byzantine music, and the few examples, published in a casual way, could not serve as a basis for scientific comparison. The former theory maintains that all the melodies of Latin origin were furnished with the Greek text for the sake of mixed communities of Greeks and Latins; the latter that originally all melodies were of Byzantine origin and were responsible for the development of Gregorian melodies. It seems to me that the answer to the divergent points of view is not as simple as advocates of the opposing opinions try to maintain; but though I cannot hope to give a definite solution of this very difficult question, I may assume that the following investigations will at least make the problem clear, and will give a stimulus to scholars interested in the history of Early Medieval music to concentrate on the solution of this question, which is of primary importance for the explanation of the beginnings of Medieval music in western Europe.

In the domain of Early Medieval music great progress has been made in the course of the last ten years. Théodore Gérold dealt with the religious and aesthetic background of this period in his detailed study on *Les Pères de l'église et la musique* (Paris, 1931), and with the musical development in *La Musique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1932). Gérold has recently given a new, concise presentation of the material

in his *Histoire de la musique des origines à la fin du xiv^e siècle* in the *Manuels d'histoire de l'art* (Paris, 1936).

The standard work on Early Medieval music is Gustave Reese's *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940; London, 1941); more than half of its contents is devoted to questions dealt with in the course of our studies. It not only gives a clear outline of the development of music in the early days of Christianity up to the beginnings of Polyphony, but also discusses various views and hypotheses of leading scholars who have written on the subject.

The present study may be regarded as a first attempt towards preparing a history of Byzantine music, its rise and development. Before this comprehensive work can be undertaken it is necessary to prepare the ground and to proceed cautiously, making a detailed examination of a limited problem, namely of the Eastern sources in Western ecclesiastical music, in order to avoid conclusions which it might seem difficult to justify. It also seemed necessary to me to examine the question of Byzantine influences in Medieval music. We shall see that 'Byzantine' has been used by scholars indiscriminately as a term for everything of non-Latin origin, whereas the following inquiries will show that most of the influences go back to the earlier liturgies of Syria or even to the Synagogue.

It has been mentioned before that studies in Byzantine music are of very recent date. The first stage is now over. The most important phase of notation, the neums of the middle period (twelfth to fifteenth century), have been deciphered, and we can now grasp the meaning of the notation of the early period (ninth to twelfth century) by the use of comparative studies of manuscripts, following the method successfully applied to Plainchant by the 'School of Solesmes'. We have now entered the second stage, in which the melodies themselves have to be examined and their historical significance demonstrated. The collection of Byzantine melodies at my disposal enabled me to carry out a comparison of the melodic structure of both groups of chant, Eastern and Western. These investigations, based for the first time on the music itself and supported by the results of studies in comparative liturgy, will enable us to abandon the sphere of speculation and to reach our conclusions by investigation into the structure of melodies, the method generally applied to compositions of other periods in the history of music.

A few words must be said about the transcription of melodies originally written in Plainchant, and Byzantine musical notation.

Byzantine Melodies are always transcribed in modern staff notation, as the system of Middle Byzantine musical notation makes it possible

to render the melodies with all their rhythmical and dynamic nuances. Details of the method applied in the transcription are given in the first chapter of the second part of these studies.

Plainchant is transcribed either in modern staff notation according to the rules laid down by the School of Solesmes, or in the square notation of Plainchant.[1] As this book is not intended for students of the history of music only, I shall give below a few indications as to how this notation should be read.

Clefs. Two clefs are used in modern Plainchant notation, as in Medieval manuscripts, the *C Clef* and the *F Clef*.

C Clef F Clef



In each case the notes on the line upon which the *C* or *F Clef* is placed stand for *C* and *F* respectively.

Notes. The neumatic notation uses for the single note four different types:

1 2 3 4



They all have the same rhythmical value, rendered in modern editions by a quaver (♪). The first sign, the *Punctum*, which derives from the point in Medieval manuscripts, is the most frequent of these signs; it is used for the isolated note. The second, *Virga*, derives from the stroke. In modern editions it is used for the first note of a descending group. The descending notes are rendered by the third sign, the *Punctum inclinatum*. The fourth sign, the *Quilisma*, designates a kind of trill (♪).

Groups of two, three, and more neums are written and transcribed in the following way:

Pes or *Podatus*





Clivis





[1] The classical work on this subject is Dom A. Mocquereau's *Le Nombre musical grégorien*, vol. i (1908), vol. ii (1927). A clear, concise explanation of the subject is to be found in A. Robertson's *The Interpretation of Plainchant* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1937), pp. 10–22.

Porrectus



Scandicus



Torculus



Climacus



Porrectus flexus



Scandicus flexus



Pes subbipunctus



Another kind of signs are the *Neumae semivocales* or *Notae liquescentes*. The liquescent notes are always attached to other signs which have the full value of a quaver and indicate notes which should be sung lightly; they are rendered in modern editions by a little note.

Podatus liquescens
or *Epiphonus*



Clivis liquescens
or *Cephalicus*



These explanatory remarks may suffice for the interpretation of the examples of Plainchant notation. Fuller information is given in the *Liber usualis Missae et Officii*, edited by Desclée et C[ie], or in Dom G. M. Suñol's *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne*, (1935).

For comparative tables I have chosen a third kind of notation, using crotchets without strokes (•). This notation has proved to be the most convenient for enabling us to follow the development of the melodic structure of several chants without being deflected by the particular divergencies caused by rhythm.

The same kind of notation is also applied to the transcription of early Polyphony before the development of measured music.

FIRST PART

GREEK HYMNS IN THE MASS AND OFFICE OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE TRISAGION ON GOOD FRIDAY

(1)

THE Good Friday service of the Roman Church culminates in the uncovering and adoration of the Holy Cross. The Roman missal prescribes that the officiating priest lay aside his chasuble at the beginning of the ceremony. Then, on the Epistle side, he receives the unveiled Altar Cross from the deacon and uncovers the top of the Crucifix. Going up one step towards the centre of the altar and lifting the Cross higher, he uncovers the right arm; then going up another step and coming to the centre of the altar, he uncovers the entire Cross. While doing so he sings, three times, the antiphon *Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit*, each time on a higher note, to which the choir and people make response, *Venite adoremus*. Then he carries the unveiled Cross down the steps and lays it before the altar on a cushion. Taking off his shoes he approaches the Cross, genuflecting three times, and kisses the feet of the Crucifix. The deacon and the subdeacon are the first to follow, then the other ministers, the rest of the clergy and the laity approaching two by two.

During this ceremony the precentors in pairs sing alternately the *Improperia* or 'Reproaches', standing between the first and second choir; then the whole choir sings the antiphon *Crucem tuam adoremus*, the *Crux fidelis*, and the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*. After each strophe of the hymn, the *Crux fidelis* is repeated. The first three strophes of the *Improperia* are each followed by the Trisagion, or, as it is called, the 'Sanctus hymn of the Eastern Church', sung by both choirs alternately in Greek and Latin. The melody of the first strophe of the 'Reproaches', *Popule meus*, is composed of several phrases, which prepare, in a varied order and with changed transitions, for the melodic substance of the two following strophes, *Quia eduxi te* and *Quid ultra debui facere tibi*.

The Trisagion itself shows the melodic form: A—A—B. The first strophe of the *Improperia* followed by the Trisagion reads as follows, in staff notation[1]:

Duo cantores in medio chori cantant:



[1] *Officium Majoris Hebdomadae et Octavae Paschae* (Desclée et Cie), pp. 536 seqq.







Unus Chorus cantat :



Alius Chorus respondet :



Primus Chorus :



Secundus Chorus :



Primus Chorus :





Secundus Chorus :





(2)

This is the only place in the Roman liturgy where a text is sung in both Greek and Latin. The use of Greek words in this important part of the Good Friday service has long since attracted the attention of scholars. But it is probable that only the combination of both liturgical and musicological studies will fully elucidate the significance of this alternating chant.

The use of the Trisagion in the liturgy goes back to very early times; its occurrence can be proved already at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451),[1] and it is also found in the Gallican rite at an early date. Here it was introduced in all Masses by order of the Council of Vaison (529), whereas it was formerly sung only in 'public Masses'.[2] In an article on the origin of the *Kyrie eleison* in the Western Church, E. Bishop[3] has stated that the Trisagion, or, as it was called, the *Aius*, did not make its first appearance in Gaul in connexion with the decree of the Council of Vaison, but that it came at an earlier date from Constantinople, through Burgundy, as Burgundian rulers were known to have close relations with Constantinople. 'The unique manuscript containing the letters attributed to Germanus of Paris (who was of Autun, and abbot there before he became bishop) was found at Autun. This city was in the Burgundian dominions. The other manuscript in which the *Aius* is mentioned, the Bobbio Missal, has also a Burgundian connexion.' The precise date of the introduction of the Trisagion, whether towards the close of the fifth or in the beginning of the sixth century, cannot be fixed. But we may assume as certain that the order of the Council of Vaison only relates to the introduction of the *Aius* in all Masses.

As in the Greek Church to-day, the Trisagion was sung in the Gallican Mass before the Prophecy—the first of the three lessons—

[1] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5me ed., p. 85.

[2] Ibid., p. 202.

[3] E. Bishop, '*Kyrie Eleison*. A Liturgical Consultation.' This article, first published in the *Downside Review* (Dec. 1899, and March 1900), forms a chapter of his outstanding work *Liturgica Historica*, published after his death by the Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1918).

and between the Epistle and Gospel.[1] The practice of singing it on Good Friday was not accepted by all Churches, e.g. neither by the Churches of Milan and Lyons, nor by the Carthusians. Nor is it to be found in Mozarabic liturgy as part of the *Adoratio Crucis* chants, where the Trisagion was introduced in Greek and Latin after the Introit in the Masses of several feasts.[2]

A study of the Trisagion was published in the early days of Plainsong revival by A. Gastoué, who tried to compare the Roman version of the melody with a Byzantine one.[3] We must regret that Gastoué does not indicate from which manuscript the latter has been taken, but we may guess from indications in a footnote of another article of his in the same volume of the *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (iii. 10), that he got this example illustrating Byzantine music, as well as the others, from the Rector of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre at Paris, Archimandrite Hornsy.

It is therefore not quite correct to speak of a Byzantine version of the Trisagion melody, but of a Neo-Greek version; though we may assume from the character of the melody that it is most certainly the old Byzantine melody which, fortunately, has preserved its character. Let us add two more Gregorian versions to the example given by Gastoué. The first can be found in *Paléographie musicale* (vol. i, pl. xxvii), taken from a Troper of the tenth century (Cod. Paris Bibl. Nat. fonds lat. 1240), written between 933 and 936 at St. Martial The text is given only in Greek. The second example is taken from the famous thirteenth-century *Antiphonale Monasticum*, Codex F. 160 of the library of Worcester Cathedral, published in the twelfth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*, where it is reproduced on Plate ccxv (see PLATE I). This version represents a very venerable and ancient version of the Trisagion, as Worcester adhered stubbornly to its tradition of Plainchant, introduced about 885 by two choristers from the monastery of Corbie near Amiens.[4] Corbie, for its part, had received in 825, as a gift from Pope Eugene II, some copies of the Roman Antiphonary containing the new Recension ordered thirty years previously by Pope Hadrian I (772–92).[5] Thus Corbie became a centre for Plain-

[1] 'Aius [ἅγιος] vero ante prophetiam pro hoc cantatur in graeca lingua, quia praedicatio novi testamenti in mundo per graecam linguam processit, excepto Matthaeo apostolo, qui primus in Judaea evangelium Christi hebraeis litteris edidit. Servato ergo honore linguae, quae prima evangelium Christi vel suo signo recipit, vel suis litteris docuit, primum canticum incipiente praesule ecclesia 'Aius' psallit dicens latinum cum graeco. . . .'

'Tunc in adventu sancti evangelii claro modulamine denuo psallit clerus 'Aius'. . . .' *Expositio antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae Germano Parisiensi ascripta*, ed. J. Quasten, *Opuscula et Textus* (Münster, 1934).

[2] Dom L. Brou, 'L'Alleluia gréco-latin "Dies sanctificatus"', *Revue grégorienne*, xxiv (1939), 8.

[3] *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, ii (1896), 167 seqq., 192.

[4] Cf. *Paléographie musicale*, xii, p. 343.

[5] Cf. E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 343.

song executed after the best Roman tradition. It becomes evident from this fact that Plainsong at Worcester must have been a continuation of the way of singing which was in use in Rome at the end of the eighth century. The development of a local use at Corbie is out of the question, as it was Wala, brother of Adalard, afterwards abbot of Corbie, a monk of the highest influence, and a collaborator of the omnipotent Helisachar,[1] who had brought the copies of the Antiphonary to the library of the abbey. It is out of the question, too, that the Gregorian melodies were transformed at Worcester, as the monks adhered to the traditional Plainsong and were violently opposed to any change, even if they had to pay with their blood for their conviction, as we know from the events at Glastonbury in 1083.[2]

By adding the version of the Worcester Antiphonary, we therefore provide a source of primary importance for our investigations. Here also only the Greek text is given, without the addition of the Latin version.

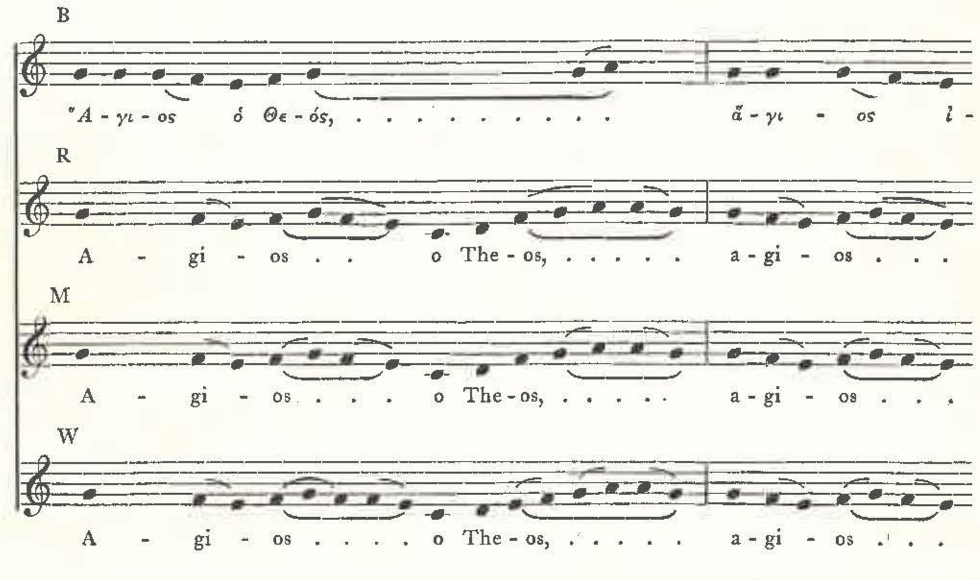
I give the four versions of the *῞Αγιος* in the following order:

B: Byzantine version.

R: Version of the *Officium majoris hebdomadae*. Ed. Solesmes 914.

M: Codex of St. Martial.

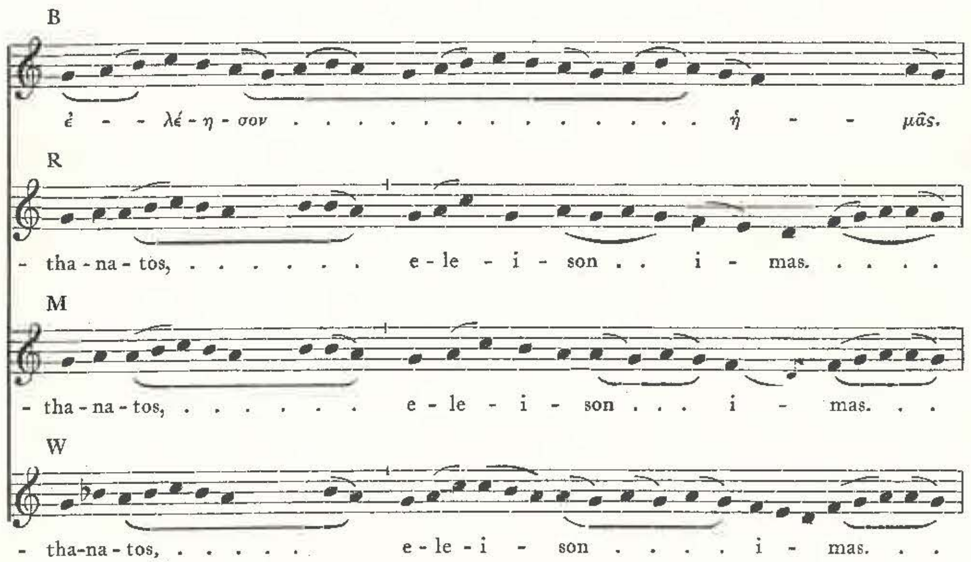
W: Codex of Worcester Library.



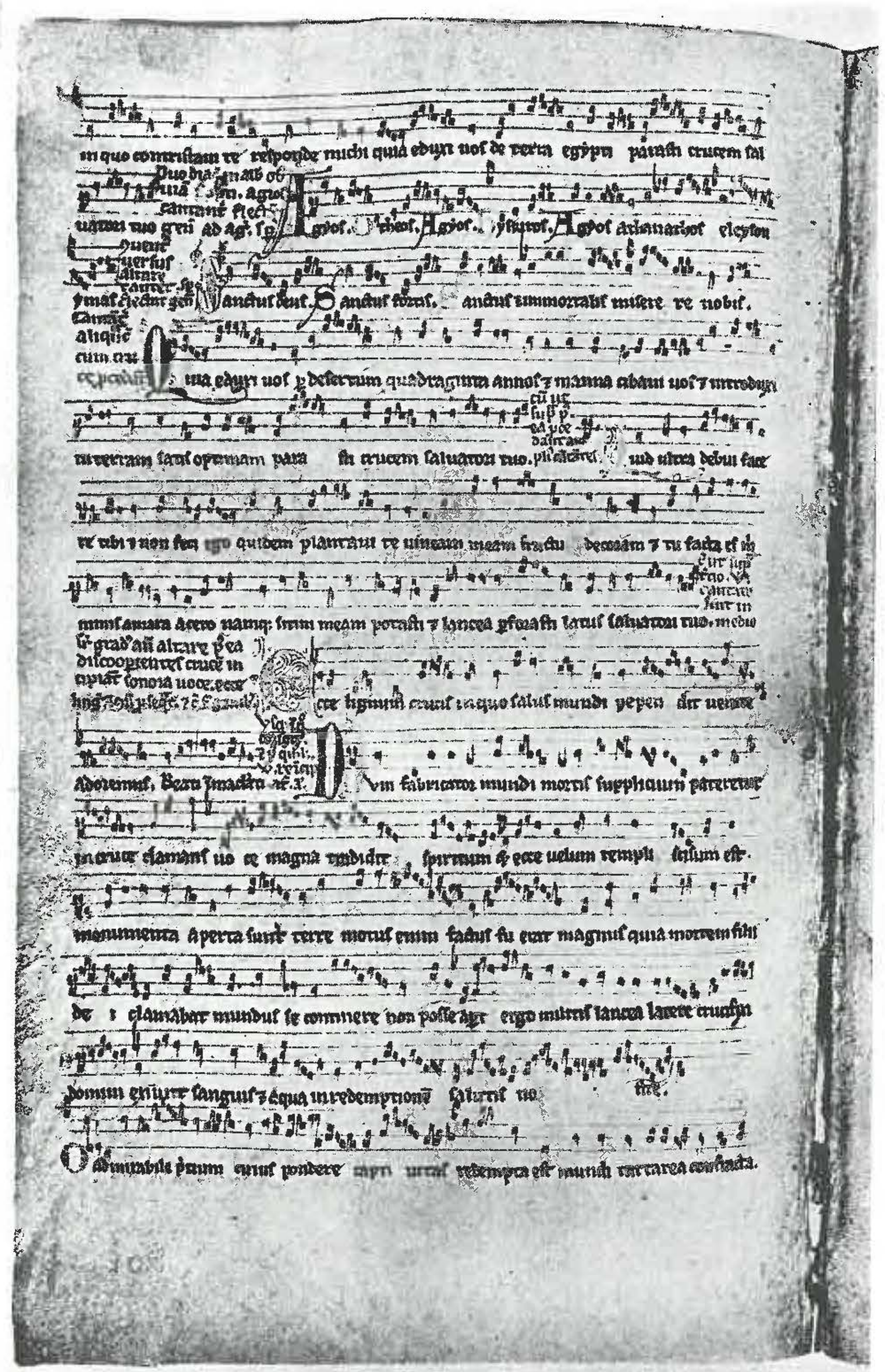
[1] Ibid., p. 343.

[2] Simon de Durham, *Historia Regum*, § 167, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series, ii (1885), pp. 211–12.





The Byzantine melody is evidently much simpler in its structure than the three Gregorian versions. The final phrase achieves an intensified expression only by repetition of the melisma on the last syllable of ἐλέησον. All the Gregorian versions have the same, or nearly the same, cadence of 'The-*os*', 'ischy-*ros*', and 'i-*mas*'; the first two phrases, *Agios o Theos, agios ischyros,* are in fact developed very similarly in all the versions, R, M, and W. The divergencies start with the third and longest phrase of the melody. We may note that the



I. Worcester Antiphonary, Cod. F. 160, fol. 215

third ἅγιος of the Byzantine version consists, as do the two before, only of four notes (*g, fe, f*), whilst the Gregorian versions, most of them resembling M, lay such a stress on *agios* that they have to borrow from the Byzantine melody the phrase connected with the next word, ἀθάνατος, so that in the Latin version the melody connected with ἐλέησον—which is evidently a double repetition of the same musical phrase—had to be adapted to *athanatos eleison.* The close connexion between B and W becomes clear in this third verse, *Agios athanatos eleison imas,* especially by comparing the melisma on the last syllable of ἐλέησον with the corresponding phrase, *eleison.*

The comparison also demonstrates how much the musical phrase is influenced by the stress accent and the meaning of the words, a fact with which we shall have to concern ourselves in the course of the following chapters.

(3)

The following questions arise:

(1) What is the significance of this singing in Greek and Latin?

(2) Is it possible to accept the view, supported by some scholars, that the Latin text was translated in Rome to help the large number of Greeks attending the holy service to understand the liturgical action?

(3) Or does this passage suggest that we have in the Trisagion the last remnant of a former, widespread use of bilingual texts sung to the same melody, the Greek version of both text and melody being the original forms, the text translated into Latin when the Greek was no longer as intelligible in the Roman churches as it had been in the first centuries?

These questions cannot be answered immediately; they give rise to a number of problems which demand careful investigation. At this early stage of our inquiries we may merely state that we can take it as certain that the Greek version represents an earlier phase, as many Latin manuscripts contain only the Greek text. From this fact it also follows that the melody, too, cannot have had its origin on Western soil, but was introduced into the Latin Church along with the Greek text, which was translated into Latin at a later date.

In order to pave the way for an answer to the first and third point of our questions, let us consult the fourteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale.* It reproduces a Beneventan Gradual of the eleventh century, containing besides the Trisagion a number of chants in Greek for the *Adoratio Crucis* and pages from other manuscripts, which contain Greek hymns in Latin letters, sung during this cere-

mony, but without a corresponding text in Latin. From these hymns a line can be drawn forward to the present-day restricted use of Greek words during the *Adoratio Crucis*, and also backward to the liturgical ceremony on Good Friday at Jerusalem in the age of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*; that is, to the end of the fourth century, which marks the beginning of the development of all ecclesiastical institutions.

CHAPTER II

GREEK HYMNS IN THE *ADORATIO CRUCIS*

(1)

THE *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta* of the nun Aetheria is one of the most important documents for our knowledge of the usage of the Church of Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century, especially that of Holy Week.[1] The pilgrim describes the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross: the bishop sits on a chair in the 'Chapel of the Cross' on Golgotha; before him the deacons stand round the table on which the holy relic of the Cross has been laid; the faithful approach the table one by one, doing reverence. They kiss the holy relic and withdraw. This lasts from eight o'clock in the morning until noon. After the Adoration all gather in the part of the church between the 'Sanctuary of the Cross' and the 'Chapel of the Anastasis', and here from Sext until None lessons are read and hymns are sung.[2] The singing of hymns and antiphons continues during the whole night.[3]

A few pages after this report, Aetheria, describing the preparations for baptism at Easter, mentions a usage of the Church of Jerusalem which is very instructive for the purpose of our inquiries. The pilgrim writes that the bishop addressed the congregation during Holy Week in the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem. As only the Greek language could be used, not only for the homilies but also for the lessons, and as many people only understood either Syriac or Latin, it was customary for the presbyter to translate the words of the bishop into Syriac. The lessons were also translated into Latin by those who spoke Greek and Latin.[4] This report of the pilgrim Aetheria affords

[1] The *Peregrinatio* was discovered and published by J. F. Gammurini in 1887 in *Biblioteca dell' Accademia storico-giuridica*, vol. iv (Rome), under the title *S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, attributing the work to St. Silvia of Aquitaine. Dom M. Férotin tried to prove that the author of the pilgrimage could not have been the Aquitanian saint, but a Spanish nun, Etheria. (See 'Le véritable auteur de la *Peregrinatio Silviae*, la vierge espagnole Éthéria', *Revue des questions historiques*, vol. lxxiv [1903].) In the same year E. Bouvy advocated the attribution of the *Peregrinatio* to Eucheria, daughter of the consul Eucherius ('Le Pèlerinage d'Euchéria', *Revue augustinienne* [1903]). The acceptance of this view would change the date of the pilgrimage fixed by Gamurrini between A.D. 385–8 to A.D. 381–4. Actually, most scholars connect the *Peregrinatio* with the name of Etheria (Aetheria). The quotations which follow are taken from the edition of P. Geyer, 'Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi III–VIII', *Corpus script. eccles. lat.*, vol. xxxix (Vienna, 1898).

[2] 'Ac sic ab hora sexta usque ad horam nonam semper sic leguntur lectiones aut dicuntur ymni, ut ostendatur omni populo quia, quicquid dixerunt prophetae futurum de passione Domini, ostendatur tam per euangelia quam etiam per apostolorum scripturas factum esse.' *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 89.

[3] 'Et tota nocte dicuntur ibi ymni et antiphonae usque ad mane.' Ibid., p. 90.

[4] 'Et quoniam in ea prouincia pars populi et graece et siriste nouit, pars etiam alia per se graece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siriste nouerit, tamen semper graece

valuable evidence of an old tradition of combining Greek and Latin texts; a tradition still maintained to-day, when Greek words are sung in the Roman Church during the *Adoratio Crucis* on Good Friday.

The Latin rite has here preserved a local custom of the Church of Jerusalem of bilingual and even trilingual cantillation or singing. Originally it was used throughout Holy Week, but finally it became restricted to a single ceremony, which marks the culminating point in the liturgy of Good Friday, devoted to the commemoration of the anniversary of the Crucifixion. But we must note that the Roman rite, while retaining the old custom of bilingual singing on one of the days of Holy Week, has not in fact preserved the original *ymni et antiphonae* of the Church of Jerusalem, but a chant, of which the pilgrim Aetheria makes mention, the Trisagion. This may be explained in a few words.

During the Persian War in 614 the relic of the Holy Cross was lost. From this date until it was recovered by the Emperor Heraclius in 626 the ceremony of the *Adoratio Crucis* was suspended in the Church of Jerusalem and never afterwards revived. But to commemorate the return of the relic a festival was introduced into the Byzantine rite. The first day of the feast, the 13th of September, was devoted to the 'Memory of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Resurrection of Christ our Lord' and the second day to the 'Adoration of the Holy Cross'. Later on, the festival of the 'Exaltation of the Holy Cross' on the 14th of September became more important than that of the 13th. In the rite of the 'Universal Exaltation of the precious and life-giving Cross' (*ἡ παγκόσμιος ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ*) the Adoration takes place during the Great Doxology at Matins. It should be pointed out that the ceremony of the 'Adoration of the Cross' only disappeared from the rite of the Byzantine Church, not from the entire Eastern Church. The original ceremony on Good Friday has survived in Syriac[1] in the rite of the Jacobites and Maronites; it has also survived in the Roman rite. Here the ceremony was introduced in the time of Pope Honorius the First (625–8), but only admitted as a festival under the Oriental pope, Sergius the First (687–701).[2]

At this date the Trisagion was neither a part of the *Adoratio Crucis* nor of the Roman Mass in general. As has already been mentioned, it

loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui episcopo graece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audiant, quae exponuntur. Lectiones etiam, quaecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est graece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est, qui nec graece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores graecolatini, qui latine exponunt eis.' Ibid., p. 99.

[1] A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, p. 152.

[2] F. Mercenier, O.S.B., and F. Paris, *La Prière des églises de rite byzantin*, ii (Prieuré d'Amay-sur-Meuse, 1939), 33 seq.

was introduced into Gaul from Constantinople towards the close of the fifth, or at the beginning of the sixth, century.[1] Here the *Ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς* had the same place in the Mass as in the Byzantine liturgy, i.e., before the lessons. The earliest witness to its use in the liturgy on Good Friday is to be found, according to E. Bishop, in the Pontifical of Prudentius of Troyes (846–61); it may have been introduced into the Good Friday Office in Rome in the eleventh century.[2]

The publication of the eleventh-century Beneventan Gradual of Cod. Vatic. Lat. 10673, in the fourteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*, may have brought us nearer to solving the question of the derivation of the Trisagion in the Good Friday liturgy in Rome. The Gradual contains the Greek and Latin version of the Trisagion as well as bilingual versions of several antiphons of the *Adoratio Crucis*. We shall see in the course of our inquiries that by a later liturgical development, tending to simplify the ceremony, the bilingual antiphons were eliminated, though the content of their texts was closely connected with the ceremony; whilst the Trisagion, which was not an essential component of the *Adoratio Crucis*, has been retained up to the present day in its bilingual version.

(2)

We have now to return to the liturgy of Good Friday in the Church of Jerusalem after the suspension of the ceremony of the 'Adoration of the Cross'. Inquiries in this direction have been made possible by the discovery and publication of a Georgian version of a Kanonarion composed in the seventh century in Jerusalem.[3] A German translation of this document by Th. Kluge has been published and commented upon by A. Baumstark[4]; a French translation of the text, compared with that of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and of the Typikon of the Church of Jerusalem for Holy Week (1122) published by Papadopoulos Kerameus,[5] has been given by J.-B. Thibaut in his study *Ordre des offices de la semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IV^e au X^e siècle*.[6]

We learn from the Kanonarion that the Office of lessons and the singing of antiphons took place at the same hour at which the ceremony of the 'Adoration of the Cross' had been celebrated in the days of Aetheria. It may be assumed that the lessons and the antiphons were the same as in the days before the holy relic was lost, as they are

[1] Cf. the contribution by Dom Connolly in the footnote on p. 132 of the *Liturgica Historica*.

[2] See *Liturg. Hist.*, p. 131.

[3] C. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimsky Kanonar*, VII veka (Tiflis, 1912).

[4] 'Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert', *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., v. 201–33.

[5] See *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. ii (1894).

[6] Paris, 1926.

connected with the moment of the Crucifixion; the acceptance of this supposition would mean that the spiritual act of worship was performed on the same day and hour as before, though the ceremony of the Adoration of the relic no longer took place.

The antiphons sung during the 'Holy Hours' are given in full in the Typikon of 1122 and in the actual Triodion; they are twelve short chants, each consisting of a single strophe, the first lines of which read in Greek as follows:[1]

	Kanonarion	*Typikon*	*Triodion*
(1) *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου*	1	12	12
(2) *Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγήν*	2	2	2
(3) *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*	3	7	7
(4) *Διὰ φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων*	4	4	4
(5) *Τοῖς συλλαβοῦσί σε παρανόμοις*	5	3	3
(6) *Οἱ νομοθέται τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*	6	9	8
(7) *Θάμβος ἦν κατιδεῖν*	7	10	10
(8) *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ προσήλωσαν παράνομοι*	8	11	11
(9) *Πρὸ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ*	9	5	5
(10) *Δεῦτε χριστόφοροι λαοί*	10	8	9
(11) *Σήμερον τοῦ ναοῦ καταπέτασμα*	11	1	1
(12) *Ἑλκόμενος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ*	12	6	6

The twelve Troparia (as these monostrophic hymns are called by Byzantine hymnographers), attributed to Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (634–8),[2] are each accompanied by a verse taken from the first twelve psalms, with the exception of the ninth Troparion, which is followed by a verse from Psalm lxxiv. To these twelve Troparia there are twelve corresponding lessons: eight from the Epistles, four from the Gospels. Their place has since been taken by the twelve so-called *Improperia* of the Roman liturgy on Good Friday during the 'Adoration of the Cross'.[3]

These Troparia belong to the oldest part of Byzantine hymnography. Among the Troparia are three—the third, eighth, and twelfth—which treat of the complaint of Christ against His people. They are linked together thematically so closely that their common origin in an older source must be taken for granted.[4] But it can also

[1] This varying succession is given by J.-B. Thibaut, *Ordre des offices*, p. 111.

[2] A. Baumstark has dealt in his article 'Quadragesima und Karwoche', in *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., v. 205, with the various arguments for and against attributing to Sophronios the authorship of the Greek model of the Georgian version of the Kanonarion; but he agrees with Dimitriewskij that the redaction of the Greek Typikon was made in the seventh century. Whether the Troparia—which are headed in the Typikon of 1122 as *Ποίημα Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ ἀρχαίου καὶ φιλοσόφου* —can be attributed to Sophronios or not, cannot at the moment be decided.

[3] The rubric of the Missal gives the following indications: 'Interim, dum fit adoratio Crucis, cantantur Improperia, et alia quae sequuntur. . . .'

[4] 'Offenbar ist in den drei Karfreitagsgesängen der "Grossen Horen" die Christusklage eines alten Kontakions in einer für modernes Empfinden plagiatorischen Weise verwertet, während von dem

be seen that the text of the *Improperia* of the Roman rite derives from these Troparia. This can best be shown by setting these three poems side by side[1] and by adding for comparison the *Improperia*[2] or Reproaches, sung by the choir:

3	8	12
*Τάδε λέγει Κύριος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις * Λαός μου * τί ἐποίησά σοι; * ἢ τί σοι παρενώχλησα; * Τοὺς τυφλούς σου ἐφώτισα· * τοὺς λεπροὺς ἐκαθαίρησα· * ἄνδρα ὄντα ἐπὶ κλίνης ἀνωρθωσάμην· * λαός μου, * τί ἐλύπησά σε * καὶ τί μοι ἀντεπέδωκας; * ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα χολήν, * ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ὄξος, * ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν με * σταυρῷ με προσηλώσατε· * οὐκέτι στέργω λοιπόν· * καλέσω μου τὰ ἔθνη * κἀκεῖνά με δοξάσουσι * σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι * κἀγὼ αὐτοῖς δωρήσομαι * ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον.*	*Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ * προσήλωσαν παράνομοι * τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης, * ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς· * Τί ὑμᾶς ἐλύπησα, * ἢ ἐν τίνι παρώργισα; * πρὸ ἐμοῦ * τίς ἐρρύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐκ θλίψεως; * καὶ νῦν * τί μοι ἀνταποδίδοτε; * πονηρὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν· * ἀντὶ στύλου πυρὸς * σταυρῷ με προσηλώσατε· * ἀντὶ νεφέλης * τάφον μοι ὠρύξατε· * ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα * χολήν μοι προσηνέγκατε· * ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος * ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε· * λοιπὸν καλῶ τὰ ἔθνη * κἀκεῖνά με δοξάσουσιν * σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.*	*Ἑλκόμενος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ * οὕτως ἐβόας, Κύριε· * Διὰ ποῖον ἔργον * θέλετέ με φονεῦσαι, Ἰουδαῖοι, * ὅτι τοὺς παραλύτους ὑμῶν συνέσφιγξα; * ὅτι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέστησα; * αἱμόρρουν ἰασάμην; * Χαναναίαν ἠλέησα; * διὰ ποῖον ἔργον θέλετέ με φονεῦσαι, Ἰουδαῖοι; * ἀλλ' ὄψεσθε εἰς ὃν ἐκκεντᾶτε * Χριστόν, παράνομοι.*
3	8	12
Thus saith the Lord to the Jews * My people * what have I done unto thee? * or wherein have I troubled thee? * I have given light to the blind * I have cleansed the lepers * I have raised up men that were laid on their beds * My people * wherein have I grieved thee * and what return hast thou made to me? * Anger in return for manna * vinegar for water * Instead of loving me * you have nailed me to a cross * In future I will no longer love (you) * I will call my Gentiles * and they shall glorify me * with the Father and the Spirit * and I will give unto them * everlasting life.	When to the cross * transgressors nailed * the Lord of Glory * He cried out to them * Wherein have I grieved you * or wherein have I provoked your wrath? * Before me * who delivered you from oppression? * And now * what return do you make to me? * Evil for goodness * In return for a pillar of fire * you have nailed me to a cross * In return for a cloud * you have dug me a tomb * In return for the manna * you have offered me gall * In return for water * you have given me vinegar to drink * For the future I will call the Gentiles * and they shall glorify me * with the Father and Holy Spirit.	Stretched out on the Cross * thus, O Lord, didst thou cry out * For what deed * do you wish to slay me, O Jews? * Because I bound up those of you who were paralysed? * because I raised up the dead as if from sleep? * because I healed the woman with the flow of blood? * because I had pity on the Canaanite woman? * For what deed do you wish to slay me, O Jews? * But you will look upon Him Whom you pierced * Christ, O transgressors.

nämlichen Kontakion auch der lateinische Text der Improperien abhängt.' A. Baumstark, 'Der Orient und die Gesänge der Adoratio Crucis', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, ii. 12.

[1] See ibid., p. 11.

[2] See the article of Dom Brou in *Revue grégorienne*, vols. xx, xxi, and xxii (1935, 1936, 1937), where he distinguishes two groups of chants, the first comprising the *Popule meus* with its three verses each starting with *Ego*. Dom Brou, by investigating the sources of the first group, rightly points out that not only have the first two chapters of the fourth book of Esdras (Vulgate) to be considered as a source for the first part of the *Improperia*, as stated by Molien and Schuster, but above all Micah (vi. 3–5), and other sources. 'Il doit donc y avoir d'autres sources que le livre d'Esdras. Il y en a même tellement que le choix sera difficile à faire dans certains cas' (xx. 170). In fact it suffices to compare Micah vi. 3 and 4,

℣. Popule meus, quid feci tibi? aut in quo contristavi te? responde mihi.
℣. Quia eduxi te de terra Aegypti: parasti crucem Salvatori tuo.

(Hymn of the Trisagion: *Agios o Theos*, &c.)

℣. (2) Quia eduxi te per desertum quadraginta annis, et manna cibavi te, et introduxi in terram satis bonam, parasti crucem Salvatori tuo.

(Trisagion)

℣. (3) Quid ultra debui facere tibi, et non feci? Ego quidem plantavi te vineam meam speciosissimam: et tu facta es mihi nimis amara: aceto namque sitim meam potasti: et lancea perforasti latus Salvatori tuo.

(Trisagion)

℣. (1) Ego propter te flagellavi Aegyptum cum primogenitis suis: et tu me flagellatum tradidisti.

(*Popule meus*, as before)

℣. (2) Ego te eduxi de Aegypto, demerso Pharaone in Mare Rubrum:
et tu me tradidisti principibus sacerdotum. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (3) Ego ante te aperui mare:
et tu aperuisti lancea latus meum. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (4) Ego ante te praeivi in columna nubis:
et tu me duxisti ad praetorium Pilati. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (5) Ego te pavi manna per desertum:
et tu me cecidisti alapis et flagellis. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (6) Ego te potavi aqua salutis de petra:
et tu me potasti felle et aceto. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (7) Ego propter te Chananeorum reges percussi:
et tu percussisti arundine caput meum. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (8) Ego dedi tibi sceptrum regale:
et tu dedisti capiti meo spineam coronam. *Popule meus* . . .
℣. (9) Ego te exaltavi magna virtute:
et tu me suspendisti in patibulo crucis. *Popule meus* . . .

(3)

We are now approaching the essential point of our investigation. In Beneventan Graduals of the eleventh century we find in the liturgy of Good Friday a varying group of antiphons in Greek and Latin after the *Popule meus*, the most important part of these antiphons being the eighth Troparion of the liturgy of Jersualem, the *῞Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ*, mentioned above. The liturgy of Benevento was not affected by the tendency towards unification which was general in the Carolingian epoch and which 'made the older liturgies, the pure Roman, the Gelasian, and at length the Mozarabic, disappear to give place to a common and universally accepted rite';[1] it has preserved its peculiar archaic character, similar to the Ambrosian. But apart from assimilated Oriental elements we have to reckon also with direct influences from the Byzantine Empire, which were combined with the old forms of the Roman liturgy. This fact explains the unusual number of elements from the Byzantine liturgy of Good Friday which were fused with those of the Roman liturgy, as can be seen from the Ordo of one of the eleventh-century Beneventan manuscripts, Cod. Vat. Lat. 10673.[2] Here the *Improperia* are followed by a number of monostrophic chants and verses:

with the third and eighth Troparion and with *Popule meus* to see at once the close connexion: '*Λαός μου, τί ἐποίησά σοι, ἢ τί ἐλύπησά σε, ἢ τί παρηνώχλησά σοι; ἀποκρίθητί μοι. Διότι ἀνήγαγόν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας ἐλυτρωσάμην σε, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὸν Μωσῆν καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μαριάμ.*'

The verses of the second group are shorter than those of the first. 'Toutes ces courtes phrases sont visiblement inspirées de la Sainte Écriture, mais il est difficile de fixer des références certaines. La Bible parle très souvent des bienfaits de la sortie d'Égypte, et les termes de nos Impropères sont trop généraux pour qu'on puisse délimiter les citations' (ibid., p. 175.).

The text of the Beneventan Gradual (Cod. Vat. Lat. 10673) shows slight variants from the text of the actual Missal (see *Pal. mus.* xiv. 291).

(*Antiphona Greca*). Proskynumen ton stauron su ke ton tipon tu stauru su. ke tu staurothentos tin dinamin.[3]
Latina Antiphona. Adoramus crucem tuam et signum de cruce tua. et qui crucifixus est virtutem. (*Ps.*) Deus Deus meus respice. euouae.

(*Ps.*) O theos o theos mu prokes my inati encatelispas me macran apo tis sotyrias mu. Y logy ton paraptomaton mu. O theos mu kecraxome ymeras ke uk isacusi ke nictos ke uk ys anian emi; Si de (e)n agio catikis o epenos Israhil epy si ylpisan y pateres ymon. ylpisan ke criso autus.

Antiphona Greca. Ton stauron su proskinumen kyrie ke tin agian su anastasin doxazome. deute pantes proskynumen tin tu Xristu anastasin.
Latina Antiphona. Crucem tuam adoramus Domine. et sanctam resurrectionem tuam glorificamus. venite gentes adoremus Xristi resurrectionem.

(*Ps.*) Laudate Dominum de celis. seculorum amen. Crucem tuam.
Enite ton kyrion ec ton uranon. enite auton en tis ipsistis; Enite auton pantes y angeli autu. enite auton pase e dinamis auton; Enite auton ylios ke selini. enite auton panta ta astra ke to fos.

[1] E. Bishop, *Liturg. Hist.*, p. 55.
[2] See *Pal. mus.* xiv. 296–301.
[3] The phonetic transcription of the Greek text gives valuable information as to the pronunciation of this language in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But here and in many other MSS. the scribes made many mistakes, even completely mutilating the text, as they had no knowledge of Greek. An example of this kind is given in an article by H. Müller, 'Reliquiae graecae', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, vol. xxi, where the Doxology is rendered in the following transcription: 'Doxa patri ke yon ke ayon pneumatis ke yn ke ayn ke ys ton ke onos ton eonon amyn.' The sections from the Ordines given here are in accordance with the text edited by Dom R. J. Hesbert in *Pal. mus.*, vol. xiv.

Antiphona Greca. Enumen se Xriste ke ymnologumen se oti dia tu stauru exigorasas ton cosmon.

Latina Antiphona. Laudamus te Xriste et hymnum dicimus tibi quia per crucem redimisti mundum. (*Ps.*) Cantate Domino canticum novum laudatio ejus. seculorum amen.

(*Ps.*) Asate to kyrio asma cnesis autu en ecclesia osyon. Euphranthito Israhil epi to piisanti auton ky i son agalliastosan epy basili auton.

The disposition of the antiphons in the Beneventan manuscript does not follow an invariable order. Dom Hesbert quotes schedules[1] from other Beneventan manuscripts which contain a different grouping of the chants and also the replacement of some chants and lessons by others. For example, Codex Beneventan. VI. 38 and Codex Beneventan. VI. 40 show the following disposition of chants during the *Adoratio Crucis*:

Cod. Benevent. VI. 38:

Tr. Domine audivi . . .
Lectio Libri Exodi. In diebus illis. Dixit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron.
Tr. Qui habitat. . .
Tr. Eripe me . . .

Ant. Greca ante Cruce⟨m⟩: Otin to stauron . . .[2]
Ant. Latina. O quando in cruce . . .
Ant. Cum Rex glorie . . .
Ant. Cum fabricator mundi . . .

Cod. Benevent. VI. 40:

Tr. Domine audivi . . .
Lectio Libri Exodi. In diebus illis. Dixit Dominus ad Moysen et Aaron in terra Aegypti. Mensis.
Tr. Qui habitat . . .
Tr. Eripe me . . .
Ant. Greca. O quando in cruce . . .
Ant. Cum Rex glorie . . .
Ant. Cum fabricator mundi . . .
Ant. Greca. Proskynumen . . . *Ps.* O Theos o Theos mu.
Ant. Adoramus crucem tuam . . . *Ps.* Deus Deus meus respice . . .
Ant. Ton stauron su . . . *Ps.* Enite auton.
Ant. Crucem tuam . . . *Ps.* Laudate Dominum de celis.
Ant. Enumen se Christe . . . *Ps.* Asate.

[1] *Pal. mus.* Vol. xiv, pp. 296–7, and p. 300–1. Those who have to work at Byzantine musical manuscripts know very well how often one finds Troparia and Hirmi arranged in different groupings.

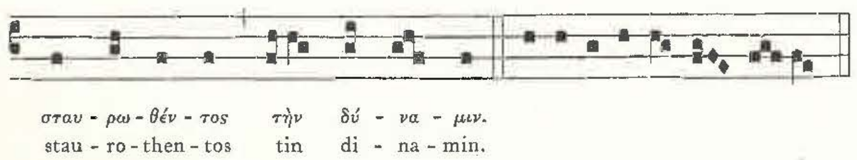
[2] Cod. Benev. VI. 38; in Cod. Vat. Lat. 4770 it reads *Ote ton stauron.*

Ant. Laudamus te Christe . . . *Ps.* Cantate Domino canticum laudatio ejus usque in finem.
Lectio. Dixerunt impii de Deo.
℟. Amicus meus . . . ℣. Retulit triginta . . .
Evangelium. Mane facto usque dum constituit michi Dominus.
Ant. ante Crucem. Ecce lignum . . .

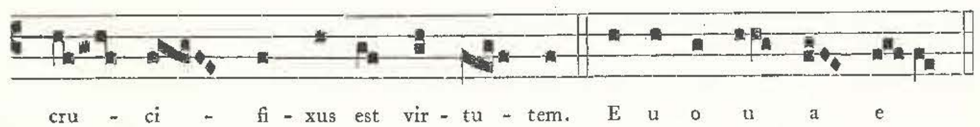
Ego propter te . . .
Ant. Greca. Panta ta etni . . .
Ant. Latina. Omnes gentes . . .

Of all the bilingual chants mentioned here, the following four short Troparia occur most frequently. The transcription from the Beneventan neumatic notation is given in volume xiv of the *Paléographie musicale*, pp. 310–13, where reference is made to the facsimiles of the manuscripts containing, as mentioned above, the Greek and afterwards the Latin versions, both with neums in the characteristic Beneventan script. The Troparia are marked as *Antiphonae*. The first antiphon is composed in the second mode, according to the division used for Gregorian melodies.





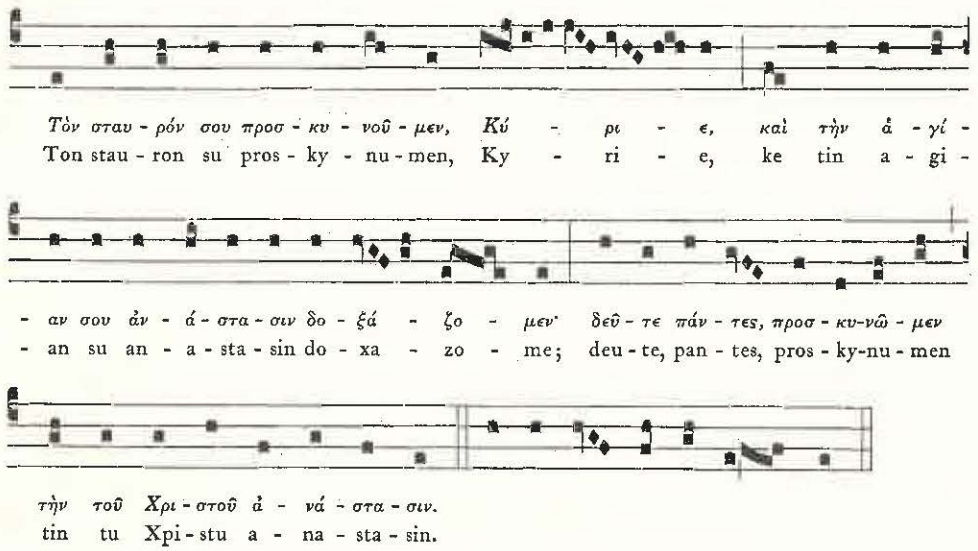




The Latin transcription keeps closely to the Greek original, even in the word-order; from this results the rather forced phrasing of *et qui*

crucifixus est virtutem. We may note the rich ornamentation on *τοῦ* in the phrase *καὶ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος* and the corresponding decoration in the Latin text. The technique of embellishing unimportant words preceding important ones, so that the latter can be more richly understood, differs from our custom, but frequently occurs in Byzantine and Gregorian chants. Thus important words may be introduced by a rich melodic group in order to create a kind of poetical tension.

The second antiphon is composed in the fourth mode:

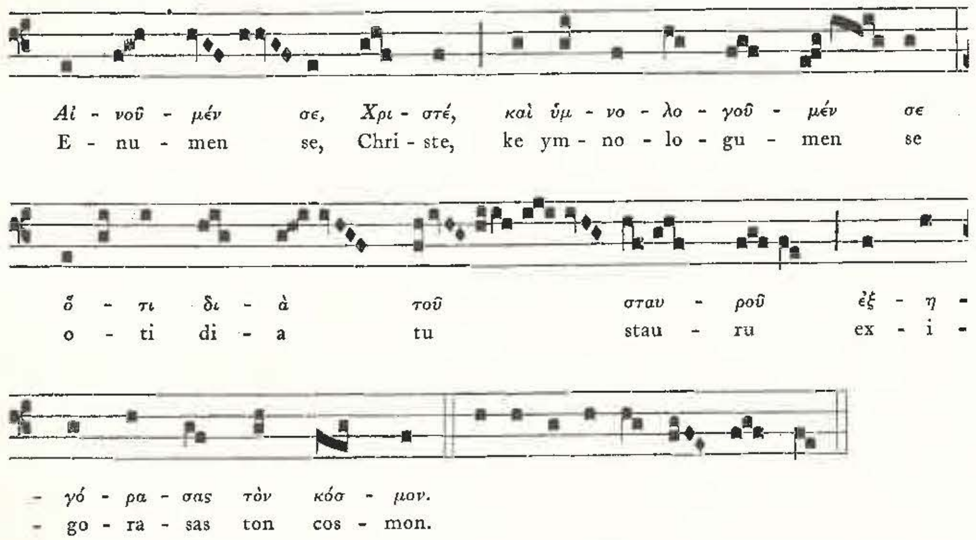


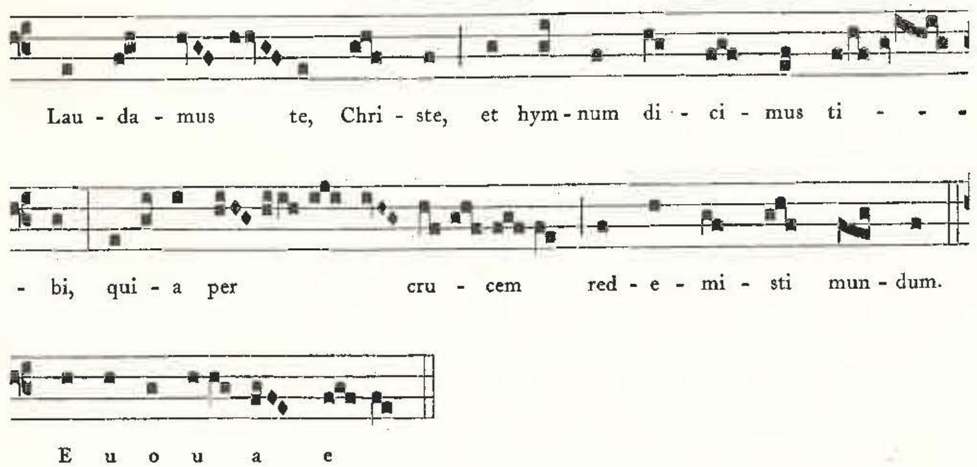


Here we observe a beautiful ornamentation on two of the most important words: *Κύριε = Domine*, and *δοξάζομεν = glorificamus*. At first sight this treatment of the text seems to contradict the principle we have just established in examining the first antiphon, namely, that

it is the unimportant words which are embellished, so that the important words which follow may be appreciated. But here we have two different cases of the combination of words and melody which can be found frequently elsewhere and to which another principle applies. We often find the *Nomen Sacrum, Κύριος = Dominus,* adorned by a melodic group, and the verbs of praise, *δοξάζειν = glorificare,* are nearly always ornamented. This is characteristic of the Jubilus, the ecstatic chant, in which the melody and not the words is of paramount importance. Both the melody and the text of the Beneventan antiphon differ widely from the Roman version sung nowadays on Good Friday; here the melody is much simpler.

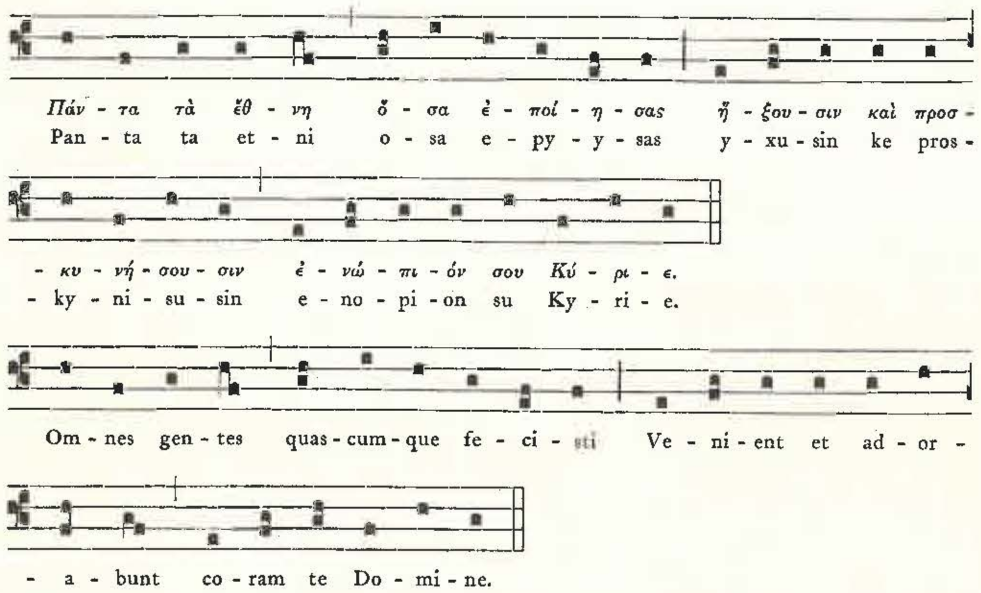
The third antiphon is composed in the second mode:





Here also the words of praise, αἰνοῦμεν = *laudamus*, and ὑμνολογοῦμεν = *hymnum dicimus tibi*, are embellished by a melisma. But we also find represented the other type of melodic grouping which creates a dramatic tension and prepares for an important word of the text in the phrase, ὅτι διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ = *quia per crucem*.[1]

The fourth antiphon is repeated three times in Greek and in Latin by the choir. Its final note suggests that this antiphon should be attributed to the fourth mode. But Dom Hesbert states rightly that it belongs to a group of its own, as it does not show the features characteristic of the fourth mode:[2]



In attributing the above-mentioned melodies to ecclesiastical modes we must be rather careful not to impose rules valid for Gregorian melodies on those belonging to Byzantine chant. We cannot enter here into a detailed investigation; we can only touch on the problem of modes, which is one of the most contradictory in the history of Early Medieval music. It may prove that the entire problem of ecclesiastical modes needs new treatment, in view of the results of the investigation of Byzantine music. For, in this domain, it becomes more and more evident that the essential reason for attributing a melody to a certain type does not consist in its belonging to a particular scale or mode, but in the occurrence of certain melodic formulae in the structure of a phrase. I dealt with the problem for the first time in an article on the structure of chants of the Serbian Oktoëchos,[1] and I was able to show that the so-called 'ecclesiastical modes' are *post factum* constructions of theorists. The basic principle of musical composition is the building up of a melody, by putting together certain characteristic groups of notes (formulae) which must occur in every chant of a certain type. These formulae are connected by freely invented transitions.

[1] Further details on this subject are given in my article: 'Über Rhythmus und Vortrag der byzantinischen Melodien', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxiii, p. 65.

[2] 'Aussi bien, notre antienne appartient-elle à un type particulier et qui constitue à lui seul un groupe à part, comportant une psalmodie spéciale, dont la récitation est précisément sur *mi*.' *Pal. Mus.* xiv, p. 317.

At a later stage many of these smaller groups were collected by theorists into a comprehensive group and denominated as 'modes', according to the treatises of ancient Greek theorists. The result of this process was that people came to regard the modes as the already existing norms of musical composition.

In the case of the fourth antiphon, which is short and has a small range, it is much more difficult to classify the formulae essential to the structure into distinct groups than would be the case if it were longer, as will be shown later on in analysing a longer hymn.

We are not able to say exactly how these Greek Troparia found their way into the Beneventan liturgy, as the historical development of this liturgy has not been studied sufficiently for us to get a clear view. Yet by considering the application of texts to their melodies, and the relation of the words to the music, first in the Greek and then in the Latin version, we may well come to the conclusion that we have before us Byzantine melodies of a very early date which have probably undergone some slight alterations in being adapted to the Beneventan rite. This view is also expressed by Dom R. J. Hesbert, author of the study on the Beneventan tradition, in volume xiv of the *Paléographie musicale*, though he was unable to support his view by examples from Byzantine sources.

Having been asked by Dom Hesbert if I could find traces of these Greek hymns in Byzantine manuscripts, I became interested in the solution of the question and in the further problem of the connexion between melodies of the Eastern and Western Church. My efforts to find traces of the short monostrophic chants, *Proskynumen ton stauron su*, *Ton stauron su*, *Enumen se Christe*, and *Panta ta etni*, in Byzantine manuscripts have so far produced no satisfactory results. But the more developed chant of the Troparion, *Otin to stauron—O quando in cruce*, was to be found in a number of manuscripts dating as far back as the beginning of the tenth or even the end of the ninth century. This gives the problem a new turn, and the question of a direct Early Christian and Byzantine influence on Roman liturgy becomes more important also from the musical point of view.

[1] 'Die Struktur des serbischen Oktoechos', *Zeitschrift f. Musikwissenschaft*. ii (1919–20) pp. 140 ff.

CHAPTER III

GREEK TEXTS AND MELODIES IN LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

(I)

So far our investigations have been mainly concerned with answering the questions raised at the end of the first chapter, and restricted to the special case of bilingual chants during the *Adoratio Crucis*. But now we shall have to deal in full with the third question, and to examine whether traces can be found of the formerly widespread custom of using texts in Greek and Latin. These inquiries must necessarily lead us to answer the first question: What was the significance of this use of bilingual texts?

It is well known to everyone who has studied Western Early Medieval liturgical manuscripts that a number of Greek texts have been discovered in Plainchant codices, both with and without neums; and more may be found when the importance of the bilingual texts for facilitating the solution of some liturgical problems has been recognized by a wider circle of students.

A Gloria with neums has been found in a French codex[1] in the Vatican Library, written probably at Fleury in 877, in Greek transcribed in Latin characters, on which a Latin translation is superimposed; and also a Credo, the first half of which is provided with neums. This is, as far as we know, the oldest example of a bilingual text with neums.[2]

It need not be emphasized that this relatively late date applies only to manuscripts with musical notation. There is an example of a bilingual Credo accessible to everyone concerned with our studies in *The Gelasian Sacramentary, Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*, edited by H. A. Wilson at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1894 (pp. 53–4):

'*Post haec, accipiens acolytus unum ex ipsi infantibus masculum, tenens eum in sinistro brachio ponens manum super caput eius. Et interrogat ei presbyter.* Qua lingua confitentur Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum? ℟. Graece. *Iterum dicit presbyter,* Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt. *Et dicit acolytus Symbolum Graece decantando, tenens manum super caput infantis, in his verbis*:

Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli
Pisteuo his ena Theon Patera panhocratoran pyetin uranu

[1] Cf. W. Chappell, 'On the Use of the Greek Language, written phonetically, in the Early Service Books of the Church in England', *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi (London, 1881).

[2] H. M. Bannister, 'Un antico "Credo" greco e latino con neumi scoperto nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Rassegna gregoriana*, iv (1905), 151.

et terrae visibilium omnium et invisibilium . . .
kae gis oraton kae panton kae auraton . . .

Filii carissimi, audistis Symbolum Graece, audite et Latine. *Et dicis*: Qua lingua confitentur Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum? *Resp.* Latine. Annuntia fidem ipsorum qualiter credunt.

Ponens manum acolytus super caput infantis, et dicit Symbolum decantando, his verbis: Credo . . .'

The Winchester Troper (Cod. Bodl. 775, saec. x) contains the Gloria in Greek written in Latin characters:

Doxa en ypsistis theo. Ke episgis irini enantropis. eudochia
(*Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*
enumense. eulogumense. pros kinumense. doxo logumense.
Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε,
eukaristumense diatin mengalinsu doxan. Kyrie basileu epuranie. thee
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν. Κύριε, Βασιλεῦ, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ,
patir pantocraton. Kyrrie yie monogeni isu criste. Keagion pneuma.
Πάτερ Παντόκρατορ· Κύριε Υἱὲ μονογενές, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
Kyrrie otheos. oamnos tutheu. o ios tu patros. oerontin amartian tu
Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρός, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ
cosmu. eleison imas. oerontas amartian tu cosmu. prosdexet
κόσμου· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου. Πρόσδεξαι
indei sinimon O catimenos endexia tu patros eleison imas. Otisi
τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ὅτι σὺ
monos agios. simonos Kyrrios simonos ypsistos. ysos xρos.
μόνος Ἅγιος, σὺ μόνος Κύριος, σὺ μόνος Ὕψιστος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
sinagion pneumatin. is doxan. theupatros. AMIN.[1]
σὺν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρός. Ἀμήν.)

As the neums are written over the Greek text, and as the text of the Credo differs from the usual version in that it is a literal translation of the Greek original, it can be assumed that the Gloria and Credo were sung in Greek, and that the Latin text has been added only as a help to the better understanding of an unfamiliar language. H. M. Bannister and A. Gastoué, who have both worked on the Vatican manuscript, quote other similar examples of bilingual texts.[2]

In an article, 'Reliquiae graecae',[3] H. Müller refers to bilingual texts of all the chants of the Mass of Pentecost, in a missal of the tenth century from the monastery of Essen, now Codex D2 of the Library of Düsseldorf. The Gloria, Credo, and Doxology were sung first in Latin, then in Greek; the Sanctus and the Agnus first in

[1] Cf. *The Winchester Troper*, ed. W. H. Frere, Henry Bradshaw Society, viii. 60.

[2] A. Gastoué, 'A proposito di un antico "Credo" greco e latino con neumi scoperto alla Vaticana', *Rass. greg.* iv. 254.

[3] H. Müller, 'Reliquiae graecae', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, xxi (1908), 147 seqq.

Greek and then in Latin, the Communion only in Latin. The Offertory is written down in Greek. The text is taken from the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, and is the Cherouvikon hymn which is sung in the Eastern Church at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. The Greek text is transcribed in Latin characters:

I ta cherubin mysticos iconizontes ke ti zopion triadi ton trisagion ymnon prophagentes passan in biotikin apothometa merinnan os ton basileon ton olon Ipodoxomeni tes angelikes aoraton doriforumenon taxasin alleluia.

(*Οἱ τὰ Χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν Τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσᾴδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν.*
Ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς Ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν. Ἀλληλούϊα.)

Translation:

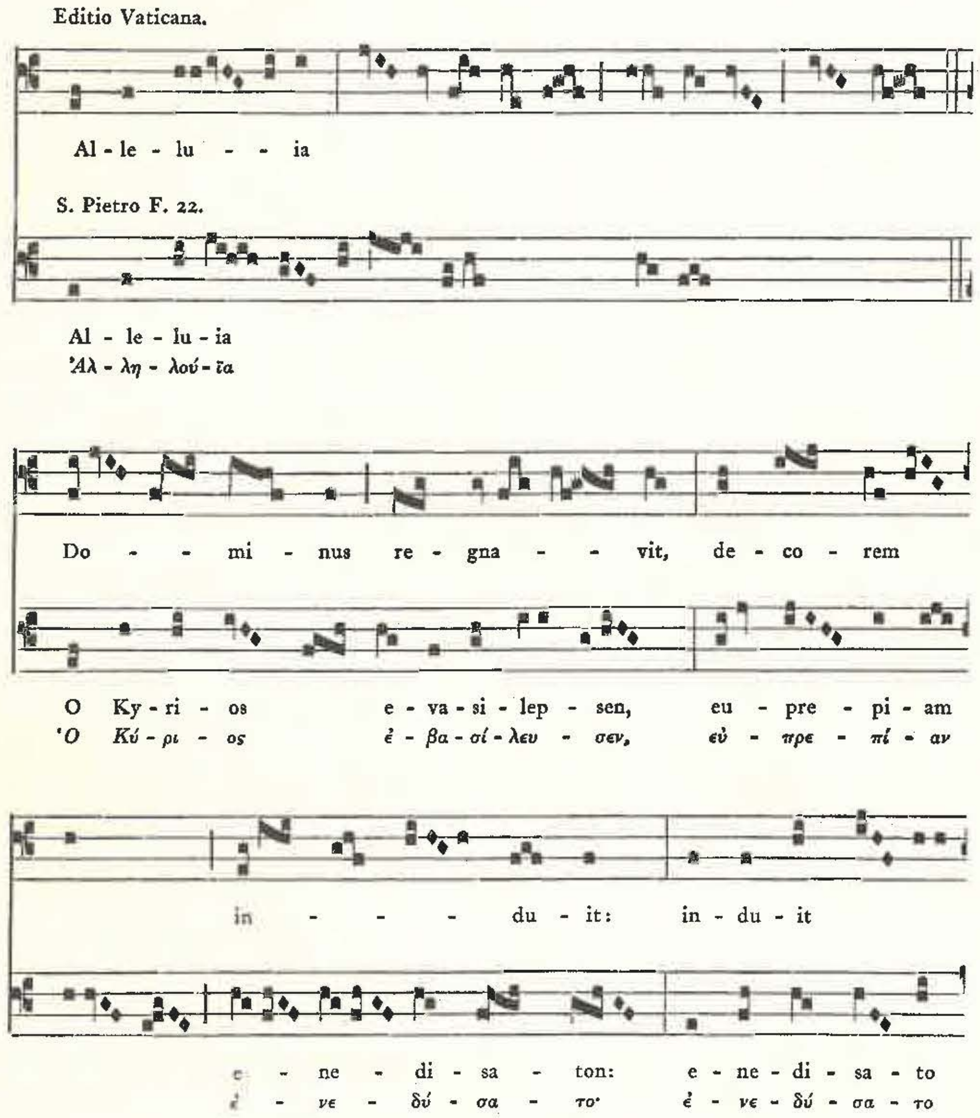
Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares; that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia (J. M. Neale, *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*, i, p. 430).

U. Gaisser quotes further examples from Codex F. 22, which is among the archives of St. Peter's, Rome;[1] they form a group of antiphons from Easter Sunday to Low Sunday (*Dominica in albis*).

Easter Sunday	
Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσε	Dominus regnavit
Monday after Easter	
Ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραήλ	Qui regis Israel
℣. *Ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ*	Qui sedis super Cherubim
℣. *Ἄμπελον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου*	Vineam de Aegypto
Tuesday after Easter	
Προσέχετε λαός μου	Attendite popule meus
Ἀνοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς	Aperiam in parabolis
Friday after Easter	
Ἐπὶ σοὶ Κύριε, ἤλπισα	In te, Domine, speravi
℣. *Κλῖνον πρός με τὸ οὖς σου*	Inclina ad me aurem tuam
Saturday after Easter	
Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται	Coeli enarrant
Ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται	Dies diei eructat
Octave day of Easter	
Δεῦτε ἀγαλλιασώμεθα	Venite exultemus
℣. *Προφθάσωμεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ*	Praeveniamus faciem eius
Ὅτι Θεὸς μέγας	Quoniam Deus magnus

[1] Dom U. Gaisser, 'Brani greci nella liturgia latina', *Rass. greg.*, vol. i, nos. 7, 8, 9 (1902).

Gaisser illustrates his argument by an example; he reproduces the Alleluia *Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν* and compares it with the Latin version of the text and melody of the Alleluia *Dominus regnavit*, which now occurs in the second Mass of the Nativity,[1] where it is connected with the Gradual *Benedictus qui venit*. The comparison of the Gregorian melody given by Gaisser with that of the *Liber usualis* shows slight divergencies, which are not essential; I have therefore left the version reproduced in Gaisser's article unchanged.



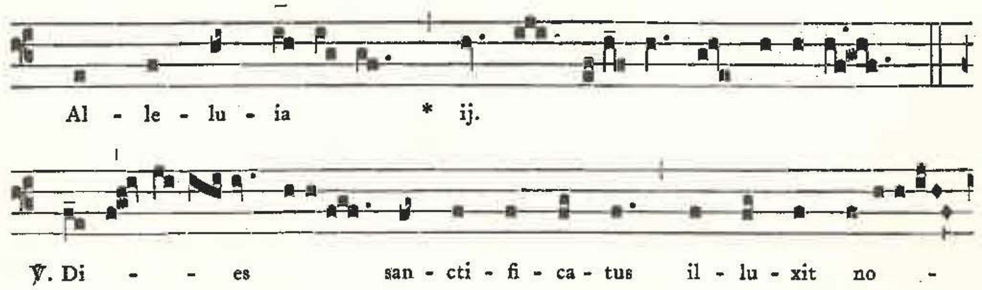
[1] The transference of this hymn from Easter to Christmas is not an isolated case; the same is true of the *Σήμερον–Hodie* antiphons.



We can see at first glance that the Gregorian melody derives from the Byzantine, which, especially in the Alleluia, is a less ornamented composition. We can also see that the spirit of the Latin language has influenced the shape of the musical phrases. There is obviously a closer connexion of words and music in the Roman version than in the Byzantine, and in consequence a freer treatment of the single melodic phrase. But the relationship between both melodies remains manifest.

(2)

There is another example which has recently been the object of a very minute inquiry, the Alleluia-verse *Dies sanctificatus* of the third Mass on Christmas Day.[1] In the modern Roman Gradual it has the following form:



[1] Dom L. Brou, 'L'Alleluia gréco-latin "Dies sanctificatus" de la messe du jour de Noël', *Revue grégorienne* (1938 and 1939).



The melody of the Alleluia has been adapted to a number of other alleluiatic verses either (1) in its complete form or (2) by accepting the melodic phrase connected with the word 'Alleluia', fitting in a new melody for the verse, and repeating the alleluiatic melisma as the final cadence of the verse.

The first group, Codex 359 of St. Gall, written in the ninth century, contains twelve Alleluias with musical notation, but the Gradual of Monza, dating from the eighth century, already quotes nine of them without giving the musical notation. These are:

Dies sanctificatus	December 25. Christmas Day
Video caelos	December 26. St. Stephen
Hic est discipulus	December 27. St. John
Vidimus stellam ejus	January 6. Epiphany
Tu es Petrus	June 29. St. Peter and St. Paul
Beatus es Simon Petre	June 29. St. Peter and St. Paul
Inveni David	Common of a Martyr Bishop
Sancti tui	Common of two or more Martyrs in Paschal time
Disposui testamentum	Common of two or more Martyrs in Paschal time

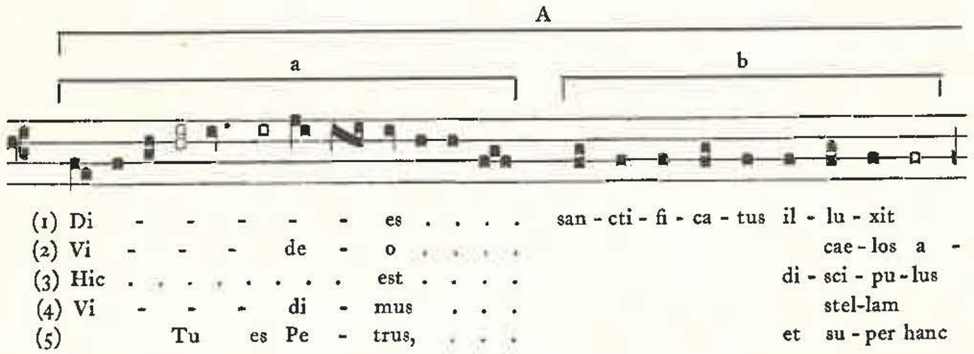
The second group comprises the Alleluia verses:

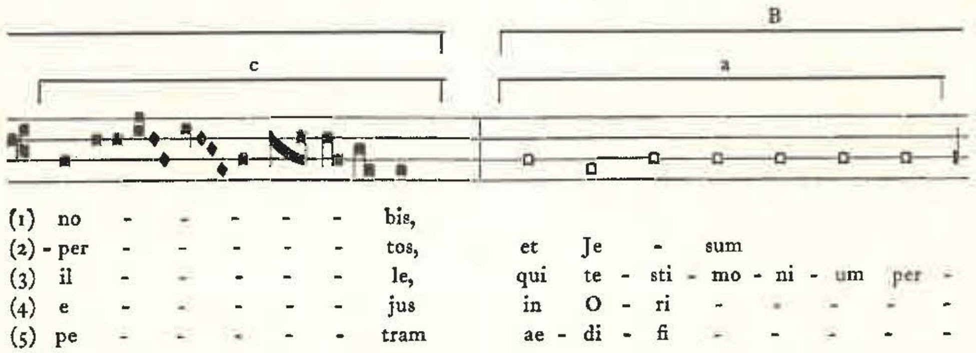
Redemptionem misit
Elegit te
Pretiosa est

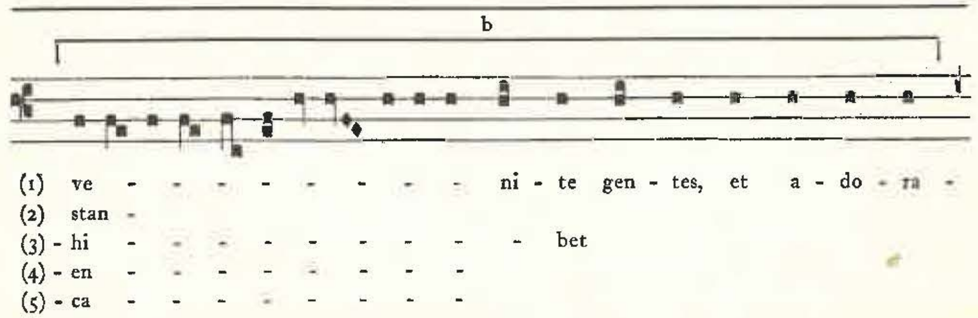
which cannot be found in manuscripts earlier than the ninth century. From the fact that the use of the melody of the Alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus* is widespread, it is clear that it belongs to the group of hymns which form the essential part of Gregorian chant. These

melodic prototypes[1] have a parallel in Byzantine music in the model strophe of the Kontakia, the so-called Hirmos (*Εἱρμός*) and—to trace the line back to its origin—in the Syrian *ris-qolo.*[2]

In order to show how the Gregorian composers adapted new texts to the melodic prototype I shall give as an example the Alleluia verse *Dies sanctificatus* (1) and four adaptations of the melody to the texts of *Video caelos* (2), *Hic est discipulus* (3), *Vidimus stellam* (4), and *Tu es Petrus* (5).

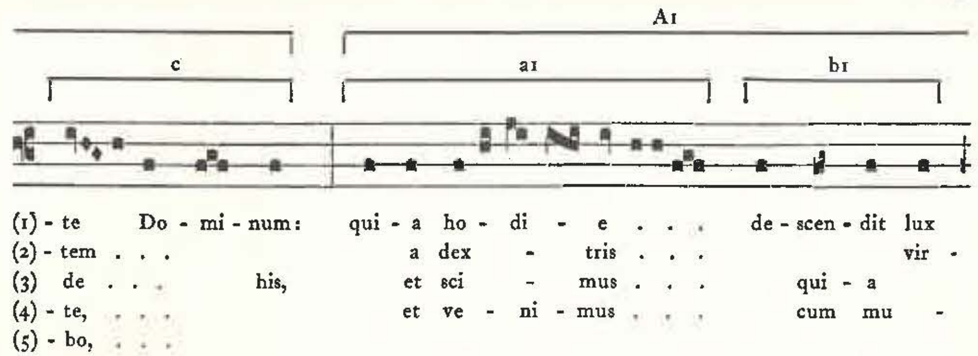


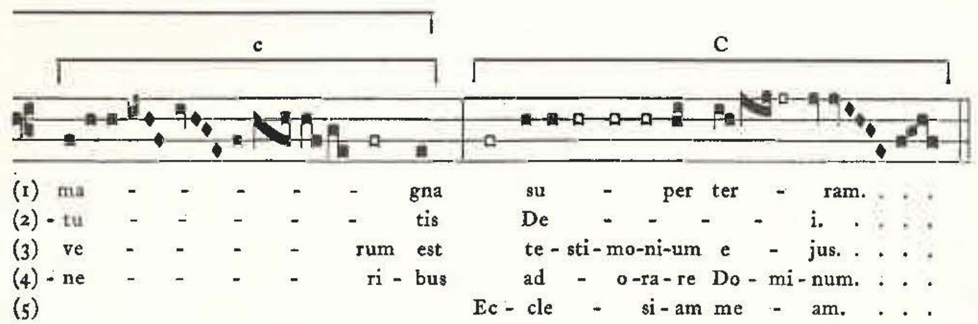




[1] Dom P. Ferretti, in his *Estetica Gregoriana* (i. 111), speaks of *Melodie-Tipo* and gives the following definition: 'La "*Melodia-Tipo*", come già fu detto, è un' aria tradizionale alla quale gli artisti gregoriani applicarono un certo numero di testi nuovi.'

[2] Cf. A. Gastoué, *Les Origines du chant romain*, pp. 60 seqq.





Let us now analyse the melody and its adaptation to the different texts, since this examination will give us valuable information concerning the technique of musical composition in Plainsong, and a preliminary knowledge of the development of Early Medieval musical composition in general.

For the better understanding of the table showing the melodic prototype and five different texts, it may be said that the black neums indicate the reading of the melody for the alleluiatic verse *Dies sanctificatus*, the hollow neums[1] (▫ or ▯) mark additional notes, inserted into the melody to adapt it to texts with more words or syllables than the original.[2] The Alleluia melody itself has been left out, as it is the same in all versions; the table therefore contains only the *Versus* following the Alleluia.

The versicle consists of three parts, A—B—A1, and of a final cadence, C. A1 is a variant of A. The first phrase A consists of three parts: (1) the initial phrase (*a*), the *Initium*, starting and ending on *d* and rising in the middle of its development gradually to *a*; (2) the recitative, *Tenor*, which forms the middle part, cantillating on *d* (only the accented syllables of *sanctificátus*, *illúxit*, *caélos*, *discípulus*,

[1] In the preface to the *Editio Vaticana* these notes are called *notae excavatae*.

[2] The additional notes are used very frequently in cadences of the Psalms; the name for the addition being *nota superveniens*.

stéllam, and *súper* have the ornament *d—e*); (3) the cadence or *Clausula*, starting on *d*, rising to *a*, and ending on *c*.

The second phrase, B, is also divided into three parts. The first is a recitative on *d*, only once changing from *d* to *c*; but this part is lacking in *Dies sanctificatus*, where the first word of the second phrase, *venite*, is combined with the richly ornamented middle cadence, and a cantillation follows to the words *gentes et adora(te)*. On the last syllable of *adorate* the final cadence of B begins. It may be noticed that the recitative on *d* at the beginning of B changes with *c* once, whereas the recitative on *f* which follows changes with *g*. The second melodic phrase ends on *d*. The third phrase, which we mark A1, is only a slight variant of the first, the divergencies from A being due to the words of the texts.

The final period of the versicle, the *Finalis*, is linked with A1 by a recitative on *f*, in some of the versions reduced to two or even one tone. It starts on *g*, rises to *a*, descends by steps to *c*, rises again to *f*, and ends on *d*.

It is easier to recognize the elaborate technique of composition of the Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* through a comparison of the different versions than by examination of one isolated melody and its wording. Nothing is left to chance; it is throughout a perfect example of musical architecture in its contrast between melisma and recitative. We should not hesitate to admire in this composition the Gregorian composer's genius in adaptation, if we did not know that the Alleluia-versicle *Dies sanctificatus* belongs to the group of chants which are found with bilingual texts in Plainchant manuscripts, and therefore must be of Eastern origin.

(3)

Attention was first drawn to the bilingual Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* = *Ymera agiasmeni* by an article of Dom U. Gaisser in the first volume of the *Rassegna Gregoriana*,[1] where he reproduced a facsimile of the Alleluia in Latin and in Greek from an Evangelion of the monastery of Saint Gumbert at Ansbach (saec. IX), now in the library of the University of Erlangen; the Alleluia was inserted in a blank page during the tenth century. Only a few years later H. Villetard made a new contribution to the same question in his article '*Dies sanctificatus* en grec et en latin'[2] and gave a transcription of the hymn from Codex Egerton 2615 in the Brit. Mus. (fol. 45 r. and v.). This is a Gradual of the thirteenth century, formerly belonging to the Cathedral of Beauvais. Whereas some manuscripts give first the full Greek text and melody, then the Latin (or vice versa, the full Latin text followed

[1] 'Brani greci nella liturgia latina', *Rass. greg.* i (1902), 109. [2] Ibid. (1906), pp. 5 seqq.

by the Greek), the present manuscript follows every phrase of the Latin versicle with a phrase of the Greek. This clearly indicates that the Greek version was kept only as a relic at the time when the codex was written; but a comparison of the melody of the Latin text with that of the Vatican edition shows a close relationship. Moreover, the melody of the Greek text has a form very similar to, but even simpler than, that of Codex Cambrai 61, fol. 12 v., which Dom Brou has published as an example of the *mélodie grecque*.

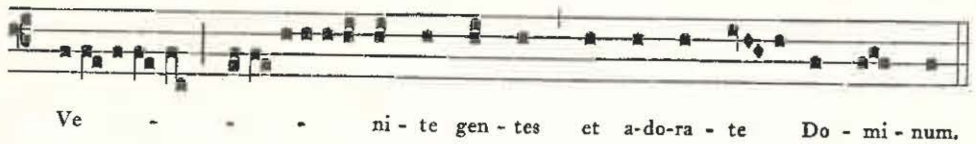
The example is of special interest because of the rubrics concerning the way in which the versicle was to be rendered. The Alleluia and the first line had to be sung in Latin by a choir near the pulpit. The Greek version of this phrase was sung by a second choir behind the altar. *Cum organo* indicates that the melody was accompanied by a second part, performed by a group of singers in the manner of an *organum*, a kind of primitive Polyphony, of which we shall have to speak in the last chapter of these studies.

The Greek version is given in the orthography of the manuscript, which is extremely faulty; some letters of the second phrase can hardly be deciphered, some words are run together, others wrongly split up. None of the nine other manuscripts containing the Greek text, reproduced by Dom Brou, gives a correct reading, but some at least are less corrupted by evident mistakes of the scribes.[1] To facilitate the understanding of the Greek words written with Latin characters, I have added the Greek text, with Greek characters, in brackets:



[1] The Winchester Troper of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Cod. 473, saec. XI, has the best version on fol. 2 v.: 'Ymera agias me ni epifanimon. Teutheta ethni keprosceni teton kirrion. Otis

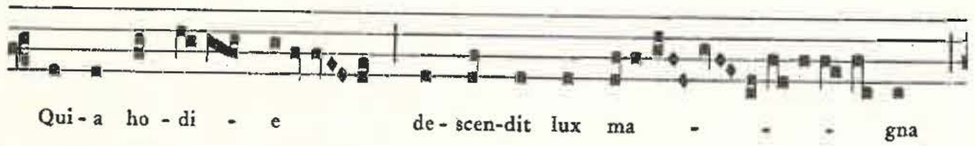
Item primi, cum organo.

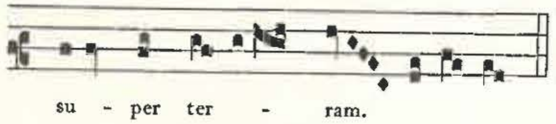


Alii post altare.



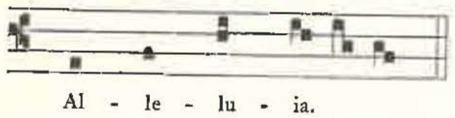
Item, primi in pulpito, cum organo.





Alii, post altare.





The melody connected with the Greek text differs entirely from the Roman version and from all others we know, viz. the Ambrosian,[1] Aquitainian,[2] and German[3] versions. It has a character of its own, with no parallel in the whole Gregorian repertory, as Dom Brou

imeron katabifos mega epitis gis.' We shall have to refer to the bilingual Alleluia in another connexion in the last part of these studies.

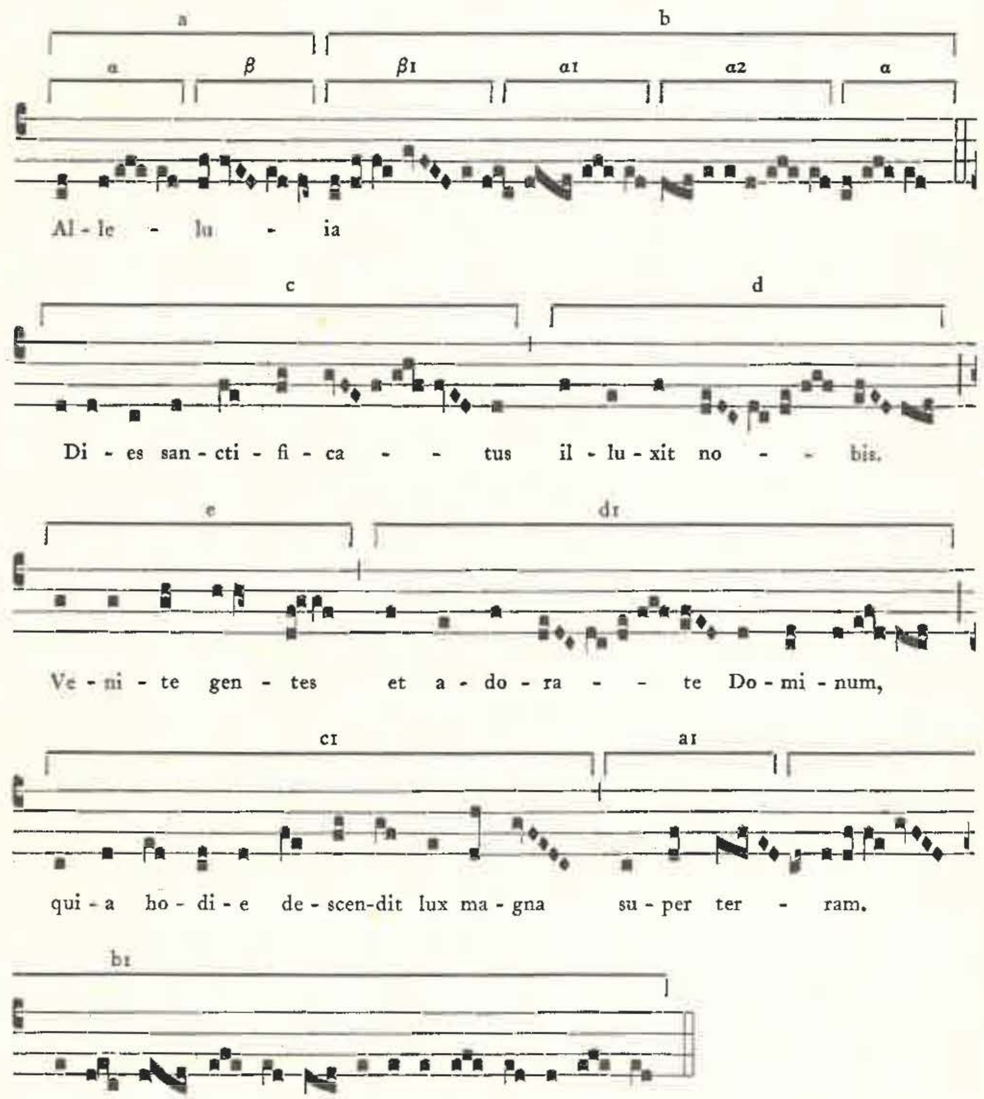
[1] Cf. *Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Rome, 1935), p. 428.

[2] Represented by Cod. Brit. Mus. Harl. 4951, fol. 133 v.; Cod. Bibl. Nat. Paris lat. 776, fol. 14; Cod. Cath. Toled. 35.10, fol. 11 v.

[3] Cf. Cod. L. Rosenthal, cat. 150, n. 215, fol. 11 v.

rightly points out.[1] Its style differs from that of all other Gregorian melodies. We can therefore assume that this melody is of Eastern origin and was introduced into the Roman liturgy in the course of the eighth century.[2]

It is noteworthy that the Byzantine melody occurs not only with both Greek and Latin words, but also with the Greek text alone, and with the Latin alone. As an example of this group we may quote the *Dies sanctificatus* of Codex Cambrai 61, already mentioned above:[3]



[1] Cf. Dom L. Brou, 'L'Alleluia gréco-latin "Dies Sanctificatus"', *Rev. grég.* (1939), p. 209.

[2] Ibid., pp. 211–13.

[3] Ibid., p. 4.

The melody of the Alleluia-versicle is composed of five phrases: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, and *e*; *a* is the melodic phrase of the Alleluia, *b* of the Jubilus, attached to the Alleluia on the last syllable of the word. These two phrases are repeated with slight modifications at the end of the versicle to the words *super terram*. The versicle is composed of three phrases: *c*, *d*, and *e*; *d* and *c* are repeated with slight modifications, whereas *e*—the only phrase which has preserved the style of cantillation originally characteristic of this kind of chant—appears only once. From this an entirely symmetrical structure results:

A		B	A1
a b	‖	c d e d1 c1	a1 b1

The Alleluia and the Jubilus are composed of two melodic formulae, α and β; the latter can be regarded as a variation deriving from α. The Alleluia consists of α and β, the Jubilus of a variation of β (β1) and of α (α1), to which a third part is added as a final phrase, composed of α2 and α. A comparison of this version from Codex Cambrai 61 with the melody published by H. Villetard from Codex Egerton 2615 in the British Museum reveals the following facts:

The melody of the Alleluia and its Jubilus in Codex Cambrai is much richer in its development than the melody of Codex Egerton, which is the usual one. The latter seems to be of Western origin. It is found in many Gregorian codices and has been introduced into the *Editio Vaticana*. The version of the Codex of Cambrai shows the typical technique of Byzantine, i.e. Oriental, melodies by the use of small melodic formulae which are linked together. The melody of the versicle of Codex Egerton is very similar to that of Codex Cambrai up to *Ὅτι σήμερον κατέβη φῶς μέγα—quia hodie descendit lux magna.* From here on the two versions differ widely. The final words of the Egerton version, *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*, are put together with a short final cadence, corresponding to the musical phrase connected with *Ὅτι σήμερον*, whereas the Cambrai version starts the repetition of the Alleluia on *super terram*, thus subordinating the meaning of the text to the norms of an elaborate musical structure.

We shall not be wrong in attributing this transformation of the melody to the genius of Gregorian musicians, and in seeing in such masterly handling of musical form a manifestation of that creative power which has been rightly called, by one of the greatest liturgical scholars of our time, 'the genius of the Roman rite'.[1]

[1] Cf. E. Bishop, *Liturg. Hist.*, pp. 1 seqq.

(4)

Although there is an apparent relationship between the Greek and Latin versions of a text, we must beware of concluding that a similar relationship exists in the music, unless it can be verified by an analysis of the melody. This may be proved by the following example.

Baumstark[1] has shown the dependence of the second *Responsorium in III Nocturno* of Maundy Thursday on a Greek original, the Troparion *Κύριε, ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος*, sung at Vespers during the *Ἀκολουθία τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σωτηριωδῶν παθῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Office of the Holy and Salutary Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ):

Κύριε,	
ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἑκούσιον	
παραγενόμενος,	
ἐβόας τοῖς Μαθηταῖς σου·	
Κἂν μίαν ὥραν	Una hora
οὐκ ἰσχύσατε	non potuistis
ἀγρυπνῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ,	vigilare mecum,
πῶς ἐπηγγείλασθε	qui exhortabamini
ἀποθνήσκειν δι' ἐμέ;	mori pro me?
κἂν τὸν Ἰούδαν	Vel Judam non
θεάσασθε πῶς οὐ καθεύδει,	videtis, quomodo non dormit,
ἀλλὰ σπουδάζει	sed festinat
προδοῦναι με τοῖς παρανόμοις.	tradere me Judaeis?
	℣. Quid dormitis?
Ἐγείρεσθε,	surgite
προσεύχεσθε,	et orate,
μή τις με ἀρνήσηται,	ne intretis in tentationem.
βλέπων με ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ.	
Μακρόθυμε, δόξα σοι.	

From the beginning of the direct speech, *Κἂν μίαν ὥραν* up to *παρανόμοις*, the Latin version represents an exact translation of the Greek text. The verse of the Latin text seems to take up the meaning of the two Greek lines, *Ἐγείρεσθε, προσεύχεσθε*, in a free way, but ends, not with the vision of the Crucifixion, but with the warning of Matthew xxvi. 41, *γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν*, thus keeping closely to the text of the Gospel.

From this it is evident that the Troparion cannot be the source of the Latin Responsory, but that the Latin text must derive from an earlier Byzantine poem, viz. from a Kontakion, the prototype of the Byzantine Troparion. The form which has come down to us probably

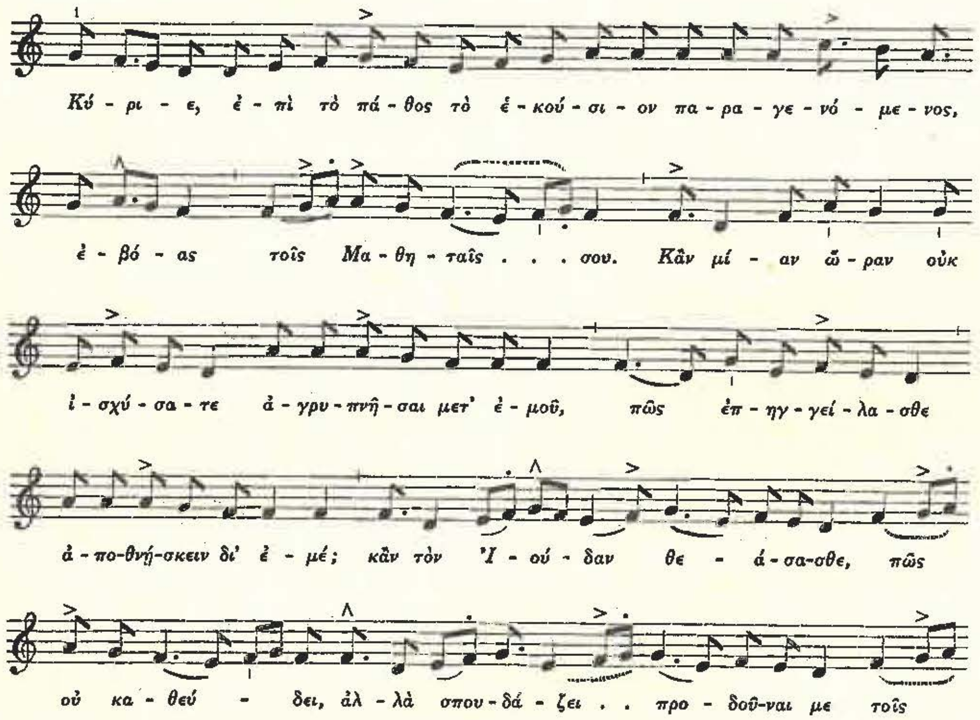
[1] A. Baumstark, 'Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen in den Responsorien der Metten des Triduum Sacrum', *Der Katholik* (1913), p. 209.

represents a redaction made in the monastery of the Studion, the centre of the famous school of hymn-writers.[1]

Hence we can easily understand that no direct relationship exists between the melody of the Responsory *Una hora* and that of the Greek Troparion, as can be seen by comparison of the two chants, which are given here in modern staff-notation:

I give first a transcription of the Byzantine hymn from Codex Dalassinos (cf. *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, vol. i, fol. 243 r.), and then the Gregorian melody according to the *Editio Vaticana* (cf. *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii*, p. 562).

(Mode III. Plagal.)



[1] 'Die Kontakien des 6. Jahrhunderts haben das nämliche Schicksal gehabt, wie auf dem Gebiete der bildenden Kunst die gleichaltrigen monumentalen Schöpfungen malerischer und musivischer Wand- und Gewölbedekoration. Wie—vielfach abgekürzte und vereinfachte—Repliken der letzteren im ikonographischen Typenschatz der späteren byzantinischen Kunst fortleben, so lieferten die ersteren der sich in den jüngeren Kunstformen der Kanones, Triodien und ergänzender einstrophiger Gebilde sich bewegenden liturgischen Poesien der Folgezeit eine Fülle inhaltlicher Motive, die—oft genug selbst in einem mehr oder weniger engen Anschluss an den Wortlaut der alten Lieder—zunächst im Kreise der palästinensischen Dichter des 7. oder 8. Jahrhunderts und sodann in demjenigen der noch jüngeren konstantinopolitanischen Poeten, vor allem des Studion-Klosters eine erneute Bearbeitung erfuhren' (ibid., p. 213). Baumstark also states (see p. 214) that the tendency to introduce soliloquies or dialogue passages into poems, which is a characteristic feature of the Troparion as well as of the Responsorium, can be traced back to the first blossoming of the early form of the Kontakion, which took over this feature from the Syrian Soghîthâ.



It may be noted that the melody is written in the third plagal mode having the *finalis* on *f* and the mediant on *a*; but in some phrases a modulation is made into the first mode, which has its *finalis* on *d*. The most elaborate part of the hymn is the twofold, nearly identical, repetition of the melodic phrase, connected with the words Ἐγείρεσθε, προσεύχεσθε.

The Latin Responsorium is of a richly developed melodic type:





The chant consists of two parts only, since the introductory words of the Byzantine hymn are missing in the Latin version. The ornamented style of the melody is a characteristic feature of the group of songs to which *Una hora* belongs, the Responsoria, which were originally sung by a soloist, the community answering with interspersed short verses. Yet the abundance of ornamentation indicates that the melody represents an already highly developed state of a former, simpler Responsory.

This melody, the prototype of the Responsorium we have before us, may have been the original melody of the Byzantine hymn introduced into the Western Church, with a text of which the Latin we possess is the translation.[1] We may also suggest, accepting Baumstark's hypothesis regarding the genesis of the text, that the original melody of the hymn was sung to the strophes of a Kontakion, and that the Kontakion itself was a translation of a Syriac hymn. But from the publication of a recently discovered homily by Melito of Sardis[2] we learn that it was not the Soghîthâ from which the Early Greek Kontakion developed—a view suggested by Baumstark—but the Memrâ, a poetical homily, which flourished in the first part of the second

[1] In this connexion also the *Σήμερον–Hodie* hymns of the Nativity cycle should be mentioned; but I have preferred to analyse these melodies more closely in a later chapter. I should also like to draw attention to the very accurate study of the Responsory *Vadis propitiator* in the fifth volume of the *Paléographie musicale* (pp. 6 seqq.), where it is proved that the text of the Latin Responsorium is a free version of the fourth Troparion of the Kontakion *Τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθέντα* of Romanos. In the same study other examples of a free treatment of the Byzantine hymns are cited: the Ingressa *Videsne Elisabeth*, which is based on the Idiomelon *Βλέπε τὴν 'Ελισαβέτ*; the antiphon *Coenae tuae mirabili*, which is an exact translation of a daily chant of the Mass in the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (ibid., p. 12); or the Ambrosian Transitorium *Laetamini justi*, which is a literal translation of one of the Stichera Idiomela of the Nativity Day *Εὐφραίνεσθε δίκαιοι*; or the Ambrosian antiphon *Sub tuam misericordiam*, which is a translation of one of *'Υπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν* (ibid., p. 14).

[2] Campbell Bonner, 'The Homily on the Passion by Melito, Bishop of Sardis', *Studies and Documents*, ed. Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, vol. xii (1940).

century. Indeed, both the Mâdrâshâ and the Soghîthâ, the two other forms of Early Syriac poetry, may have had some influence on the rise of the Greek Kontakion; but its main source is undoubtedly the Memrâ. From these considerations the following stemma results:

Syria
Memrâ
|
Palestine
Early Greek Kontakion
/ \
Byzantium — *Italy*
Byzantine Kontakion — Latin Responsories (simple form)
| |
Monastery of the Studion
Late Byzantine hymns — Latin Responsories (later development)

The foregoing inquiry may have shown how cautious it is necessary to be of speaking vaguely of 'Byzantine influences' on Plainchant, and of drawing conclusions from a superficial comparison of Latin and Greek texts as to the hypothetical existence of a relationship between the melodies in the form in which they have come down to us.

There are also connexions between the melodies of Byzantine hymns and the melodies of the Western Church—more in fact than was hitherto realized—but these connexions are not as obvious as those between the texts, which in many cases can be traced back to the Early Byzantine and even Syriac prototypes.

The study of the question of how far we are able to speak of the existence of relationships between groups of Byzantine and Gregorian melodies, and the examination of the methods to be applied in investigating these connexions will be the task of the following chapters. In order to prepare for these investigations, we shall have to turn back to the inquiries dealing with the question of bilingual texts and melodies, and shall have to refer to another source which supplies valuable material: to ecclesiastical writers who refer to the use of bilingual hymns in Offices of the Masses of several feasts.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITURGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BILINGUAL SINGING

(1)

We have learned from the rubrics of the Egerton Codex, pointing out the manner in which the bilingual Alleluia-verse *Dies sanctificatus* should be sung, that the choristers were divided into two groups: one singing the first phrase in Latin, the other responding in Greek. There are indications of the same kind of singing in other manuscripts, e.g. in the Gradual of Monza, Bibl. Capit., Cod. 13, 76, saec. XI; in the Gradual of St. Gall, 376, saec. XI; in the Gradual of the Cathedral of Cambrai, 61, saec. XII.

Another group of manuscripts shows that the singers started with the first phrase of the Greek versicle and responded with the Latin phrase, e.g. the Winchester Tropers of Oxford, MS. Bodl. 775, saec. X/XI, and of Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS. 473, saec. XI; the Antiphonary-Gradual of Worcester Cathedral, MS. F. 160, saec. XIII.

There is also a group of manuscripts which give the complete Greek text first and then the Latin, and a fourth which, inversely, starts with the Latin version and then follows with the Greek.[1] This shows that the manuscripts cannot give us a clear verdict as to which melody originally had precedence; but we have already tried to demonstrate, from a musical point of view, that the Greek text and its melody, introduced into and accepted by the Latin Church, was originally sung first,[2] the Latin translation following it, or later on being inserted between the phrases of the Greek text.

Alternate singing in two languages is not restricted to Greek texts in the Western liturgy. As has already been demonstrated, this usage can be traced back to the early times of Christianity, e.g. to the Office and Mass of the Church of Jerusalem in the fourth century.[3] This kind of singing presupposed the existence of two choirs for the chants during the liturgical ceremonies, and of two precentors.

Though many writers on early ecclesiastical music have dealt with

[1] A list of the principal MSS. of the four groups is given in Dom Brou's essay on the *Dies Sanctificatus*, *Rev. grég.* (1939), pp. 2–6.

[2] In a very learned essay, 'Alte griechische Einflüsse und neuer gräzistischer Einschlag in der mittelalterlichen Musik', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, xii. 193–219, O. Ursprung tried to reject P. Wagner's hypothesis of a strong Byzantine influence on Western Medieval music. But unfortunately his views were not supported by any knowledge of Byzantine music itself.

[3] See p. 19, note 4.

the question of alternate singing or—as it is called in the treatises of Greek and Latin theorists—of 'antiphonal' singing, it may be useful to point out a few details of the problem. Even in the standard work on the subject, P. Wagner's *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen*,[1] and in Th. Gérold's *Les Pères de l'Église et la musique*,[2] the findings on the origin of antiphonal singing are not based on a study of the sources, but on quotations from M. Gerbert's *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*, written in 1774, and therefore show a certain amount of confusion as to the facts.

(2)

The term *ἀντίφωνος* is used by Greek poets and writers on the theory of music to designate the response of high voices to deep voices. Originally the meaning of *ἀντίφωνος* must have been equivalent to *ἀντίφθογγος*. This term occurs in a fragment of Pindar, quoted by Athenaeus, where he mentions that Terpander had invented the Barbitos, a kind of lyre, as he was the first to hear the *ψαλμὸς ἀντίφθογγος* of the Asiatic Pectis at the symposia of the Lydians.[3] The Pectis is an instrument similar to the Barbitos and to the Magadis. The latter were introduced by Greek musicians, inspired by the Oriental custom of using the Pectis for the accompaniment of voices. The signification of *ἀντίφθογγος* is given in another fragment of Pindar, transmitted like the first by Athenaeus, where the Magadis is described as a *ψαλμὸς ἀντίφθογγος, διὰ τὸ δύο γενῶν ἅμα καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἔχειν τὴν συνῳδίαν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ παίδων (γυναικῶν)*.[4] This means that one is able to produce octaves simultaneously on the instrument, as though men and children (or women) were singing together. *'Αντίφθογγος*, therefore, is the technical term for a kind of singing in which high voices respond to deep ones with the same melody but an octave higher, as can be seen from fragment 39a of the *Problemata* of Pseudo-Aristotle.[5]

[1] Published in 1911. The English edition of the book is hard to find now, according to A. Robertson's statement in *The Interpretation of Plainchant*, p. 110.

[2] Paris, 1931. This is by far the most valuable contribution to the elucidation of the history of the first centuries of ecclesiastical music which has so far been made.

[3] '*ἀγνοεῖ δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ὅτι ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ὄργανον ἡ μάγαδις, σαφῶς Πινδάρου λέγοντος τὸν Τέρπανδρον ἀντίφθογγον εὑρεῖν τῇ παρὰ Λυδοῖς πηκτίδι τὸν βάρβιτον*

τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρε
πρῶτος, ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν
ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πηκτίδος.'

Cf. *Athenaei Naucratitae Dipnosophistarum Libri XV*, XIV, cap. xxxvii, ed. Teubner, iii. 402.

[4] Ibid., XIV, cap. xxxvi, p. 401.

[5] Cf. C. Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, ed. Teubner, p. 100. '*Διὰ τί ἥδιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀντίφωνον τοῦ ὁμοφώνου;—Ἢ ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀντίφωνόν ἐστι διὰ πασῶν. ἐκ παίδων γὰρ νέων καὶ ἀνδρῶν γίνεται τὸ ἀντίφωνον, οἳ διεστᾶσι τοῖς τόνοις ὡς νήτη πρὸς ὑπάτην.*' (The interval *Nete–Hypate* is that of an octave.)

In the Christian era *antiphonos* occurs for the first time in Philo's book *On the Contemplative Life*,[1] written in the first half of the first century. Here Philo gives a description of the religious life of the Therapeutae and Therapeutrides, men and women of a religious sect said to exist in the country near Alexandria.[2] The most important section from the musical point of view is the account of the spiritual exercises of the members of the sect during the 'great festival'.[3] Following the opinion and authority of Eusebius, it has for twelve centuries been regarded as a description of the celebration of Pentecost by the earlier Christian Church of Alexandria.[4]

After the meal they observe the holy vigil. The vigil is observed in the following manner. About half way through the feast [*συμπόσιον*] all rise, and first of all two choirs are formed, one of men, the other of women. As leader and conductor of each, the most honourable and suitable is chosen. Then they sing hymns in honour of the Deity in various metres and tunes, sometimes in unison, sometimes antiphonally in well-ordered melodies, gesticulating and dancing as if in ecstasy: now processional, now stationary hymns, executing strophe and antistrophe in choral dance. Then, when each choir has feasted separately and by itself, as in Bacchic revelries they take a draught of the unmixed cup dear to God and come together forming one choir out of two: an imitation of the assembly that once took place by the Red Sea, on account of the wonders wrought there. For the sea became, by the command of God, to some a cause of deliverance, to others utter destruction. For it burst apart and, being withdrawn by powerful recoil, it became fixed on either side like walls facing each other, while in the middle was cut open a wide and quite dry road for the people, along which the people walked to the opposite mainland, being escorted to the high ground. When the sea ran back and was poured back on to the dried sea-floor, those of the enemy who were pressing on were overwhelmed and destroyed. When they saw and experienced this unexpected and inconceivable event, men and women alike in their excitement formed into a single choir and sang hymns of thanksgiving to God, their Saviour, the prophet Moses leading the men, the prophetess Miriam the women. It is chiefly this that the song of the Therapeutae and the Therapeutrides reflects, the high tones of the women blending with the deep tones of the men in antiphonal and alternating singing. And thus they make harmonized and very melodious music. Very beautiful are the conceptions, beautiful the words, and noble the performers. And the object alike of the conceptions, words, and performers, is reverence.[5]

[1] *Περὶ βίου θεωρητικοῦ*, the fourth book of the treatise concerning virtues. See F. C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life* (Oxford, 1895), and *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt*, ed. Cohn-Reiter, vi (Berlin, 1915), pp. 46–71.

[2] The question of who exactly the Therapeutae were has been widely discussed, but no definite solution has been given. See E. Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1925), pp. 54 seqq., and p. 323.

[3] 'De vita contemplativa', *Opera*, vi. 68–71.

[4] See Conybeare, p. v.

[5] '*Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τὴν ἱερὰν ἄγουσι παννυχίδα. ἄγεται δὲ ἡ παννυχὶς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἀνίστανται*

Eusebius, referring to Philo, gives an abridged account of this scene in his *Ecclesiastical History*.[1] This description is less clear than the original. Philo describes the alternate singing of the same melody by men and women, and afterwards the combined singing of the two choirs. Eusebius, on the other hand, refers to a kind of singing which has the character of a Response, namely to the singing of a hymn by a soloist whom the choir answers with an invariable refrain.[2]

It becomes quite obvious that Eusebius identified the Therapeutae with the earliest Christian community at Alexandria in the following passage: 'Anyone who has a love of accurate knowledge of these things can learn from the narrative of the author quoted already, and it is plain to everyone that Philo perceived and described the first heralds of teaching according to the Gospel and the customs handed down from the beginning by the Apostles.'[3] But though it is impossible to collect further evidence about the Therapeutae than that transmitted by Philo, we can assume that his account referred to a Jewish sect which had embraced elements of Oriental mysticism.

From the musical point of view the reference to *μέλεσιν ἀντήχοις καὶ ἀντιφώνοις* is of importance. This kind of singing by which the Therapeutrides responded to the song of the Therapeutae is similar to the song of Miriam the prophetess and the women of Israel who answered the 'Hymn of Victory' of Moses and the Israelites with timbrels and with dances, as described in Exodus xv. 20–1.[4] Here, for the first time

πάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ συμπόσιον δύο γίνονται τὸ πρῶτον χοροί, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, ὁ δὲ γυναικῶν· ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ ἔξαρχος αἱρεῖται καθ' ἑκάτερον ὁ ἐντιμότατός τε καὶ ἐμμελέστατος. εἶτα ᾄδουσι πεποιημένους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν θεὸν πολλοῖς μέτροις καὶ μέλεσι, τῇ μὲν συνηχοῦντες, τῇ δὲ καὶ ἀντιφώνοις ἁρμονίαις ἐπιχειρονομοῦντες καὶ ἐξορχούμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες, τοτὲ μὲν τὰ προσόδια, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ στάσιμα, στροφάς τε τὰς ἐν χορείᾳ καὶ ἀντιστροφὰς ποιούμενοι. εἶτα ὅταν ἑκάτερος τῶν χορῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑστιαθῇ, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς βακχείαις ἀκράτου σπάσαντες τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς, ἀναμίγνυνται καὶ γίνονται χορὸς εἷς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, μίμημα τοῦ πάλαι συστάντος κατὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἕνεκα τῶν θαυματουργηθέντων ἐκεῖ. τὸ γὰρ πέλαγος προστάξει θεοῦ τοῖς μὲν σωτηρίας αἴτιον τοῖς δὲ πανωλεθρίας γίνεται. ῥαγέντος μὲν γὰρ καὶ βιαίοις ἀνακοπαῖς ὑποσυρέντος καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἷα τειχῶν παγέντων, τὸ μεθόριον διάστημα εἰς λεωφόρον ὁδὸν καὶ ξηρὰν πᾶσαν ἀνατμηθὲν εὐρύνετο, δι' ἧς ὁ λεὼς ἐπέζευσεν ἄχρι τῆς ἀντιπέραν ἠπείρου πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα παραπεμφθείς· ἐπιδραμόντος δὲ ταῖς παλιρροίαις καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔνθεν τοῦ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς τὸ χερσωθὲν ἔδαφος ἀναχυθέντος, οἱ ἐπακολουθήσαντες τῶν πολεμίων κατακλυσθέντες διαφθείρονται. τοῦτο δὲ ἰδόντες καὶ παθόντες, ὃ λόγου καὶ ἐννοίας καὶ ἐλπίδος μεῖζον ἔργον ἦν, ἐνθουσιῶντές ἄνδρες τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες, εἷς γενόμενοι χορός, τοὺς εὐχαριστηρίους ὕμνους εἰς τὸν σωτῆρα θεὸν ᾖδον, ἐξάρχοντος τοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι Μωυσέως τοῦ προφήτου, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ Μαριὰμ τῆς προφήτιδος. τούτῳ μάλιστα ἀπεικονισθεὶς ὁ τῶν θεραπευτῶν καὶ θεραπευτρίδων, μέλεσιν ἀντήχοις καὶ ἀντιφώνοις πρὸς βαρὺν ἦχον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ γυναικῶν ὀξὺς ἀνακιρνάμενος, ἐναρμόνιον συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ μουσικὴν ὄντως· πάγκαλα μὲν τὰ νοήματα, πάγκαλοι δὲ αἱ λέξεις, σεμνοὶ δὲ οἱ χορευταί· τὸ δὲ τέλος καὶ τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῶν λέξεων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν εὐσέβεια.'

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, Liber II, xvii. 6 seq.

[2] Ibid. xvii. 22 '. . . *ὡς ἑνὸς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ κοσμίως ἐπιψάλλοντος οἱ λοιποὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀκροώμενοι τῶν ὕμνων τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια συνεξηχοῦσιν*, . . .'

[3] Translation by Kirsopp Lake in his edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, p. 157 in the Loeb Classical Library.

[4] '*Λαβοῦσα δὲ Μαριὰμ ἡ προφῆτις ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἀαρὼν τὸ τύμπανον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξήλθοσαν πᾶσαι αἱ γυναῖκες ὀπίσω αὐτῆς μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ χορῶν. Ἐξῆρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Μαριάμ, λέγουσα, ᾎσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.*'

in the Christian era, is a reference to the 'Hymn of Victory', which later on played an important part in Byzantine hymnography as a model for a large number of odes of the first authentic mode (ἦχος α').

(3)

Clear evidence of the origin of antiphonal singing in Christian churches cannot be gained from the writers on ecclesiastical history. Considering the fact that alternate singing of two choirs was already known to the Israelites and formed part of the Jewish liturgy of the Temple, we may assume that it was introduced into the service from the very beginnings of Christianity and developed in the course of the fourth century by the followers of Arius. In refuting the Arian heresy the Church did not suppress this kind of singing, but combated it with its own weapons by introducing hymns of a similar character adapted to the orthodox creed.

Socrates Scholasticus refers in his *Ecclesiastical History* to events which happened at Constantinople in the time of John Chrysostom. The Arians used to hold extramural meetings on workdays, but on the weekly feast days, when the congregation assembled in the churches, they came together within the city gates and during the greater part of the night sang hymns which had been adapted to the Arian doctrines.[1] Sozomenos, another historian of this period, completes this account by adding that the Arians were divided into two choirs and sang antiphonally (*κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον*). Chrysostom for his part answered the challenge by organizing choirs and processions to celebrate the 'Homoousion'.[2]

It is now a generally accepted view that antiphonal singing had its most important centre at Antioch and was introduced from there into the Western Church. Theodoret refers in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* to two men, Flavianus and Diodorus, strongly opposed to Arianism, who were the first to divide choirs into two parts and to teach antiphonal singing of the psalms. 'Introduced first at Antioch, the practice spread in all directions and penetrated to the ends of the earth.'[3] From another source, which quotes a passage from a book by Theodore of Mopsuestia, now lost, we learn that Flavianus, later bishop of

[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 8 (Oxford, 1893), 262. '*Οἱ Ἀριανίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τὰς συναγωγὰς ἐποιοῦντο. Ἡνίκα οὖν ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἑορταὶ κατελάμβανον, φημὶ δὴ τότε σάββατον καὶ ἡ Κυριακή, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι, αὐτοὶ ἐντὸς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πυλῶν περὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀθροιζόμενοι, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν δόξαν συντιθέντες ᾖδον· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς νυκτός.*'

[2] Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 8, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. lxvii, col. 1536.

[3] Theodoreti, *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford, 1854), p. 106. '*Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες, τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χοροὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον πάντοσε διέδραμε καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.*'

Antioch, and Diodorus, later bishop of Tarsos, were also the first to translate the hymns, which were sung in answer to the Arian chants, from Syriac into Greek.[1]

The report gives no indication of whether the two choirs sang bilingually in Syriac and Greek or only in Greek. But we may assume that the first choir started to sing the hymns in the language in which they were composed, and that the second answered in Greek. There is also another possibility, which involves a different interpretation of the term 'antiphonal singing'; *ἀντιφωνεῖν* is often used similarly to *ὑποψάλλειν*. In this case we could assume that the choir of monks sang the hymn in Greek and that a second choir, consisting of a crowd of laymen, responded to each strophe with a short refrain (*ὑπόψαλμα*) in the vernacular. We cannot entirely exclude this interpretation of the passage, as Theodoret mentions that both parties, Arians and Orthodox as well, challenged each other with short acclamations of a dogmatical character. On the other hand, we know that antiphonal psalmody was introduced in the time of St. Ambrose at Milan, and that this new kind of singing, which St. Augustine praised in a well-known passage of his *Confessions*,[2] came from Antioch.

We can, however, leave the question unanswered, as its solution does not affect the main point of our inquiry—the fact that bilingual singing existed.

While in this account Theodoret refers to chants translated from Syriac into Greek, another report of his speaks of the translation of Greek hymns into Syriac. He tells us in his *Religiosa Historia*[3] that Publius, a famous ascetic monk, founded a monastery near Zeugma on the Euphrates for a community consisting of Greeks and Syrians who lived according to a strict rule. When the Greeks started to sing hymns to the praise of God in their own language (*Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ τὸν Θεὸν ἀνυμνούντων*), the Syrians wanted to imitate them by singing chants in their vernacular (*τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ κεχρημένους φωνῇ*). Therefore Publius built a church for all his disciples, and when they gathered

[1] Nicetas Choniates, *Thesauri Orthodoxae Fidei*, Lib. V, cap. xxx, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. cxxxix, col. 1390.

[2] S. Aurel. Augustini *Confessiones*, Lib. IX, caps. vi–vii. 'Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter! Voces illae influebant auribus meis et eliquabatur veritas in cor meum et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae et bene mihi erat cum eis.—Non longe coeperat Mediolanensis ecclesia genus hoc consolationis et exhortationis celebrare magno studio fratrum concinentium vocibus et cordibus. Nimirum annus erat aut non multo amplius, cum Justina, Valentiniani regis pueri mater, hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur haeresis suae causa, qua fuerat seducta ab Arianis. Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia mori parata cum episcopo suo, servo tuo. Ibi mater mea, ancilla tua, sollicitudinis et vigiliarum primas partes tenens, orationibus vivebat. Nos adhuc frigidi a calore spiritus tui excitabamur tamen civitate adtonita atque turbata. Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur *secundum morem orientalium partium*, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est: ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis jam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus.'

[3] Theodoreti *Religiosa Historia*, cap. v, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. lxxxii, cols. 1352–5.

there for the Evening and for the Morning Office, they sang alternately in two choirs, each using their own language (ἐκ διαδοχῆς δὲ τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀναπέμποντες).[1] After the death of Publius the direction of the Greeks was entrusted to Theodokos, the direction of the Syrians to Aphthonios, and the custom of singing antiphonally in Greek and Syriac was maintained up to the date of Theodoret's *Religiosa Historia*, i.e. up to the second quarter of the fifth century.

This second example shows more clearly than the first the significance of bilingual singing, since we have to reckon with the following fact: The original language of the hymns is Greek; therefore the first choir, consisting of Greeks, sang them in their own language. The monastery was on Syrian soil; therefore the words of the Greek hymns were translated into Syriac, adapted to the melodies, and sung by Syrians. Probably at a later stage, when Syrian monks were in the majority, the hymns were sung in Syriac only, but antiphonal singing remained as a generally accepted custom.

The same thing happened wherever the Church introduced chants from a missionary country where another language was spoken. In Russia, for example, the Byzantine liturgy was introduced at the end of the tenth century. Here the first choir sang in Greek, the second repeated the melodies adapted to words in Preslavonic;[2] and the oldest manuscripts have Byzantine texts written in Preslavonic letters, just as the Latin manuscripts contain Greek texts written in Latin letters.[3]

Any attempt to give a detailed survey of Latin liturgical documents in which reference is made to Greek and Byzantine hymns and texts would go beyond the limits of these studies; in fact it would require a book of its own. I shall select a few examples which may suffice for the present purpose; they are chosen from the *Ordines Romani*.

(4)

The Roman *Ordos*, fifteen of which were collected and published by Mabillon in the second volume of his *Musaeum Italicum* (1689), and re-edited in the seventy-eighth volume of Migne's *Patrologia Latina*,

[1] Ibid. '*νεών τινα θεῖον κατασκευάσας, εἰς ὃν καὶ τούτους κἀκείνους συνιέναι προσέταξεν ἀρχομένης τε καὶ ληγούσης ἡμέρας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἑσπερινὴν καὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν ὑμνῳδίαν κοινῇ προσφέρωσι τῷ Θεῷ, διχῇ μὲν διῃρημένοι, καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἕκαστος κεχρημένος φωνῇ, ἐκ διαδοχῆς δὲ τὴν ᾠδὴν ἀναπέμποντες. Διέμεινε δὲ μέχρι καὶ τήμερον τόδε τῆς πολιτείας τὸ εἶδος.*'

[2] O. Riesemann, *Die Notationen des Alt-Russischen Kirchengesanges*, Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte, Zweite Folge, viii (Leipzig, 1909); 'Zur Frage der Entzifferung altbyzantinischer Neumen', *Riemann-Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1909).

[3] The notation makes it quite evident that the Russian melodies are of Byzantine origin, introduced without any alteration. Though we cannot decipher this very early phase of Byzantine notation without the aid of later MSS., we are able to recognize the approximate course of the melodies, so that we may take it as certain that not only the notation but also the chant is of Byzantine origin.

provide a valuable supplement to the Sacramentaries of the Roman Church. These Mass books, of which the earliest are known as the 'Leonine', 'Gelasian', and 'Gregorian', give only scanty indications of the manner in which the liturgy was to be performed. The necessary directions are contained in the Roman *Ordos*, the composition of which dates from the eighth to the fourteenth century. The *Ordos*, therefore, can be described as liturgical manuals, regulating the ceremonies which have to be observed during the service by the pontiff, the clergy, the choristers, and the laymen.[1]

Mabillon's first Roman *Ordo*, already quoted by Amalar in his *De Officiis ecclesiasticis* (*c.* 830), consists of three sections of different dates. The part (chapters xxiii–xlvii) giving an account of the services in Lent and in the three days of Holy Week is of a later date than the first, which represents in substance the usages of the Stational Mass in the time of Gregory the Great.[2] It seems to have had its origin in the beginning of the ninth century, and the appendix is now generally assumed to be even later in date than this second part of the *Ordo*;[3] but it is very likely that this section too represents, in its present text, the adaptation of an older stratum dating from the time of the Greek popes of the seventh and eighth centuries. In describing the Paschal ceremonies, frequent references are made to bilingual singing at the Solemn Mass celebrated by the Pope himself or his deputy. On Holy Saturday lessons were recited in Greek and in Latin, hymns and psalms being sung antiphonally.

In the first *Ordo* a description is given of the service. The pontiff and the clergy leave the vestry. They proceed in silence to the altar, and the ceremony of the blessing of the Paschal Candle begins. When it is finished, the lector lays aside his festival robes, ascends the reading desk, and starts to read the first Prophecy. At this point it will be best to give the text of the *Ordo* in full, as we shall have to refer later to the same passage when we deal with the *Tractus*.

Deinde lector exuit se planeta; ascendens in ambonem non pronuntiat *Lectio libri Genesis*, sed inchoat ita, *In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram* nam et reliquae omnes sic inchoantur. In primis Graeca legitur, deinde statim ab alio Latina. Tunc primum surgens pontifex dicit *Oremus*, et diaconus *Flectamus genua*, deinde *Levate*; et datur Oratio a pontifice, et legitur lectio Graece, *Factum est in vigilia matutina*, et ab ipso cantatur canticum hoc Graece, *Cantemus Domino*. Post haec ascendit alius, et legit supradictam lectionem Latine, et canticum cantat suprascriptum Latine. Deinde pontifex surgens dicit *Oremus*, et diaconus ut supra; et datur Oratio. Post hoc legitur lectio Graece,

[1] See Dom F. Cabrol, *Les Livres de la liturgie latine*, Bibliothèque cathol. des sciences religieuses (Paris, 1930), p. 82.

[2] H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i (Rome, 1899), chap. iv, 'L'Ordine primo romano', pp. 195 seqq.

[3] See H. Thurston's article on the *Ordines Romani* in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, xi, pp. 284 seqq.

Apprehendent septem mulieres; et ab ipso cantatur canticum Graece, *Vinea.* Deinde ascendit alius legere suprascriptum Latine; canticum Latine cantat suprascriptum. Et pontifex *Oremus*, et diaconus ut supra; et iterum legitur lectio Graece *Scripsit Moyses canticum*; et alius ascendens legit eam Latine. Deinde pontifex vel diaconus ut supra. Post hoc cantatur Psalmus *Sicut cervus*, Graece; et alius ipsum Psalmum Latine. (*Patr. Lat.*, vol. lxxviii, cols. 955–6.)

From the foregoing passage we learn that four lessons were read in Greek and in Latin and three chants sung in the same way. The first lector opens the reading with Genesis i. 1–ii. 2 in Greek, *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν* (In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth); then another lector repeats the lesson in Latin. The second lesson is taken from Exodus xiv. 24–xv. 1, *Ἐγενήθη δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῇ ἑωθινῇ* (And it came to pass that in the morning watch), and the same lector sings from the next chapter, Exodus xv. 1–21, the 'Hymn of Victory', *Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται* (I will sing unto the Lord, for He has triumphed gloriously); and again the lesson and hymn are repeated by another lector in Latin.

The third lesson is taken from Isaiah iv. 1–v. 1, *Καὶ ἐπιλήψονται ἑπτὰ γυναῖκες ἀνθρώπου ἑνός* (And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man), and the same lector sings from the next chapter, Isaiah v. 1–3, *Ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἐν κέρατι, ἐν τόπῳ πίονι* (My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill). Again another takes his place and reads and sings the same texts in Latin. The fourth and last lesson is taken from Deuteronomy xxxi. 22–30, *Καὶ ἔγραφε Μωυσῆς τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην* (Moses therefore wrote this song), and is repeated in Latin by another lector. The reading of this lesson is not followed by a chant organically connected with it, as is the case with the second and third lesson, but by a prayer by the pontiff, which is still in use in the present form of the Mass:

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, spes unica mundi, qui prophetarum tuorum praeconio praesentium temporum declarasti mysteria, auge populi tui vota placatus, quia in nullo fidelium, nisi ex tua inspiratione, proveniunt quarumlibet incrementa virtutum.

After the prayer, Psalm xli is sung: *Ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων* (As the hart panteth after the water brooks), and again repeated by another lector in Latin. Farther on we shall have to deal more extensively with the Psalm 'Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum', which, at a later date, was sung during the procession to the font, replacing the litany mentioned in the Gelasian Sacramentary[1] and in the first *Ordo*.

[1] 'Inde procedunt ad fontes cum litania ad baptizandum.' *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 84.

(5)

A few words must be said about the number of lessons. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains twelve lessons, and the same number is found in certain Georgian Kanonaria[1] based on the Greek Typikon containing the *Ordo* observed in the churches of Jerusalem in the seventh century, which can be traced back to the same use in the fourth century, viz. to the times of the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. The reading of twelve lessons was reduced to four in Rome, as can be seen from the first Roman *Ordo* as well as from the Gubbio Gradual, representing the type of the Sacramentary of Pope Hadrian I.[2] The two groups of manuscripts, the first one represented by the *Ordo Romanus Primus*, the second by the *Hadrianum*, differ only in the last lesson[3]:

Ordo Romanus Primus	*Hadrianum, Paris Bibl. Nat., n.a. 1669*
1. In principio	In principio
2. Vigilia matutina	Vigilia matutina
3. Apprehendent	Apprehenderunt
4. Scripsit Moyses	Haec est haereditas (Isa. liv. 17–lv. 2)

Gradually the old usage of reading twelve lessons, never abandoned in France,[4] was resumed in the Roman rite, as we learn from the eleventh Roman *Ordo*, written before 1143:

In Sabbato Sancto, mane surgit archidiaconus, et miscitat oleum et chrisma annotinum in cera munda. Acolythus conficit eam et colat, et facit ex ea in similitudinem agnorum, quos Dominus pontifex expendit in Sabbato de Albis. Ad sextam Sabbati Sancti efficitur novus ignis, et cereus benedicitur; et leguntur duodecim lectiones Latine, et duodecim Graece, et cantantur tria cantica, *Cantemus Domino gloriose, Vinea facta est, Attende coelum*. Finito hoc officio, Dominus pontifex descendit ad fontem cum diaconis et subdiaconis regionariis, cantando litaniam. Primicerius cum schola cantando *Sicut cervus*, usque in porticum sancti Venantii; ibi praeparato facistorio pontifex sedet.[5]

From the above text it is clear that twelve lessons were read bilingually, and that three canticles were sung. But it is immediately apparent that a remarkable difference exists between the directions

[1] '*Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert*, Übersetzung nach Kekelidze (*Ierusalimsky Kanonar*, VII veka [Tiflis, 1912], pp. 56–88), von Dr. Theodor Kluge mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen', by Dr. Anton Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., v, pp. 201–33.

[2] Cod. Paris. Bibl. Nat., nouv. acquis., no. 1669.

[3] Cf. *Pal. mus.* xiv, 354.

[4] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1925), p. 326, note 3.

[5] *Ordo Romanus XI*, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. lxxviii, col. 1041. The twelfth *Ordo* contains an identical description of the ceremony. The thirteenth *Ordo* has only the laconic remark: 'Die Sabbati omnia fiunt ut continentur in Ordinario.'

of the two *Ordos*. According to Mabillon's *Ordo Romanus Primus*, the lessons and canticles were first read and sung in Greek. According to the *Ordo Romanus Undecimus*, on the other hand, the twelve lessons were sung first in Latin and afterwards in Greek, but the canticles were evidently sung only in Latin, as there is no mention of a repetition in Greek. This change is explained by the tenth *Ordo*:

Interim dum cereus benedicitur, pontifex cum cardinalibus et caeteris scholis procedit ad altare, et, facta reverentia, ascendit ad ornatam sedem. Subdiaconus vero, finita Benedictione cerei, ascendens ambonem incipit legere sine titulo: *In principio Deus creavit caelum et terram*. Eo vero completo, si dominus papa velit, Graecus subdiaconus eandem lectionem Graece relegit: qua expleta, dicit pontifex *Oremus*, diaconus *Flectamus genua*, et, post paululum, *Levate*. Et vicissim dicant diaconi, si plures sunt, *Flectamus genua, Levate*. Deinde sequitur Oratio, et sic per ordinem XII Latine, et XII Graece, sicut domino papae placet, vicissim leguntur.[1]

The words *si dominus papa velit*, occurring again in the description of the ceremony in the fourteenth and fifteenth *Ordos*, give the clue. Reading the lessons in Greek had lost the significance which it had had in Rome in the days of the Greek popes and during the Carolingian Renaissance. It no longer formed a vital part of the liturgy. Therefore the lessons were first read in Latin, and the Greek reading either followed, or could be omitted '*si dominus papa velit*'. We shall show, in the course of these studies, that the use of Greek was only maintained in a restricted number of chants, especially in Churches connected with the East, as for example in the Church of Benevento, where Byzantine elements were maintained for a long time in liturgy.

(6)

A remarkable example of bilingual antiphonal singing can be found in the *Liber Antiphonarius* of Pope Gregory the Great, among the chants appointed for the Candlemas procession on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2nd of February). According to the Antiphonary of St. Gregory, two antiphons were sung: the *Ave gratia plena*, and the *Adorna thalamum tuum*.

Antiphona

Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη	Ave gratia plena,
Θεοτόκε παρθένε	Dei genitrix Virgo,
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐνέτειλεν	ex te enim ortus est,
ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης	Sol justitiae,
φωτίζων τοὺς ἐν σκότει	illuminans quae in tenebris sunt:

[1] *Ordo Romanus X*, ibid., col. 1014.

εὐφραίνου καὶ σύ	laetare et tu,
πρεσβῦτα δίκαιε	senior juste,
δεχόμενε ἐν ὠλέναις	suscipiens in ulnis,
τὸν ἐλευθερωτὴν	liberatorem,
τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν	animarum nostrarum,
χαριζόμενον ἡμῖν	donantem nobis,
καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν	et resurrectionem.

Versus

Κατακόσμησον τὸν θάλαμόν σου Σιών	Adorna thalamum tuum, Sion,
καὶ ὑπόδεξαι τὸν βασιλέα Χριστόν	et suscipe regem Christum,
ἀσπάζου τὴν Μαρίαν	amplectare Mariam,
τὴν οὐράνιον αὐλήν	quae est coelestis porta:
αὐτὴ γὰρ βαστάζει τὸν βασιλέα τῆς δόξης	ipsa enim portat regem gloriae,
νεοφύτου φωτὸς ὑπάρχει παρθένος	novi luminis subsistit virgo,
φέρουσα ἐν χερσὶν υἱὸν πρὸ ἑωσφόρου	adducens in manibus filium ante luciferum,
ὃν λαβὼν Σιμεὼν ἐν ὠλέναις αὐτοῦ	quem accipiens Simeon in ulnis suis,
ἐκήρυξεν τοῖς λαοῖς	praedicavit populis,
δεσπότην αὐτὸν εἶναι	Dominum eum esse,
ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου	vitae et mortis,
καὶ σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου	et Salvatorem mundi.

Every phrase of the Greek text[1] is repeated in Latin, as is the case with the later texts of the bilingual Trisagion. Undoubtedly the original way of performing the Antiphons was to sing the whole hymn, first in Greek and then in Latin, but this form is not transmitted in the manuscripts. The Roman missal now in use contains only the *Adorna thalamum tuum*, which is still sung during the procession in which all bear candles in their hands. Early manuscripts, however, as for example the Gradual of Saint-Yrieix (Cod. 903 of the Bibl. Nat. of Paris), still show the juxtaposition of *Ave gratia plena* and of *Adorna thalamum tuum*, but only in Latin, as can be seen from Plate 46 of the thirteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*.

The *Processionarium* of the Dominicans[2] also contains the *Ave*

[1] The Greek hymn, an Idiomelon, is ascribed to Cosmas of Jerusalem.

[2] The liturgical books of the Dominicans actually in use go back to the so-called '*Correctorium Fr. Humberti de Romans*' ordered in 1250 and completed in 1255. (See *Acta Capitulorum Generalium O.P. 1220–1303*, ed. B. M. Reichert [1898].)

The chant of the Dominicans was also unified by the *Constitutiones* of 1250, in which order was given 'ut ad sedendas querelas · predicti (quatuor) fratres in Methim veniant in festo omnium Sanctorum · ad correctionem dicti officii faciendam · et in unum volumen redigendam'. From this P. Wagner concluded (*Einführung*, ii. 469) that Metz was deliberately chosen by the chapter, because since the Carolingian Renaissance it had been the home of the most famous *Schola Cantorum* in Germany. But as the statutes of the Dominicans were based on those of the White Canons of Prémontré and, farther back, on the old Gallican tradition, this fact would explain the occurrence of elements of the Syro-Palestinian liturgy. A minute study of the Dominican Plainchant may be of great importance

gratia plena, in a version with a few slight variants, which is sung *Ad primam Stationem in prima parte Claustri*:



The melody has not the character of Gregorian melodies of the purely Roman type; it belongs to the type of chant referred to by P. Wagner as being not of Latin origin; viz. to the Tracts,[1] treated in detail in a

and may prove that it has preserved the melodies of the Roman-Gallican liturgy in its pure form, though, according to the *Constitutiones* of the Order in 1228, a certain number of melismas and repetitions were suppressed. 'Hore omnes in ecclesia breviter et succincte taliter dicantur, ne fratres devotionem amittant et eorum studium minime impediatur.' Cf. H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228', *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i (1885), p. 197.

[1] 'Die Tractus verdienen das Interesse des Forschers wegen ihres eigenartigen Baues, der ihnen unter den choralischen, in Sonderheit den psalmodischen Formen der liturgischen Musiksprache eine Ehrenstellung einräumt.' P. Wagner, *Einführung in die greg. Melodien*, iii, 'Greg. Formenlehre' (Leipzig, 1921), p. 366.

later chapter. There is a close affinity between the melody of the *Ave gratia plena* and the group of Tracts of the type *Eripe me* in the second mode,[1] not only in the cadences, but in the entire structure and compass of the melodic line. By analysing the way in which words are fitted to the melody, we also find that a real combination of text and music is not achieved, as in melodies of Latin origin. If we try replacing the Latin words with those of the Greek text, we may even get the impression that the Greek words fit better to the melody than the Latin which we have before us.

There can be no doubt that the melody of *Ave gratia plena* is of Eastern origin, and was originally sung to the Greek text *Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη*, when Pope Sergius (687–701) instituted the Procession on Candlemas Day in celebration of the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, thus introducing in Rome this and other rites of the Church of Antioch, to which he as a Syrian was used. We need only quote, as another example of a bilingual rite introduced by Sergius, the litany of the Saints, *Χριστέ, ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν—Christe audi nos*, on which we have an outstanding study by E. Bishop.[2]

The text of the *Adorna thalamum tuum* in the modern missal is identical with that of the Antiphonary of St. Gregory, whereas the Ambrosian rite uses a text widely differing from the Idiomelon of Cosmas and its Latin version, as can be seen from the facsimile of the Ambrosian Antiphonary (Cod. Brit. Mus., Add. 34209, f. 130), in the fifth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*.

The existence of two different poetical versions of the same theme is convincingly explained by A. Baumstark in his article, already quoted, on 'Byzantinisches in den Weihnachtstexten des römischen Antiphonarius Officii', in *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 8, p. 163 seq. The occurrence of two versions of the same poetical idea obliges us to assume that both Idiomela had as their model an Early Byzantine Kontakion, composed in Syria or Palestine. In a later period, in the seventh century, this Kontakion was rewritten by two hymnographers whose poems were introduced into the Western Church and translated into Latin. Both melodies, therefore, that of the Roman Antiphonary as well as that of the Ambrosian, are probably of Byzantine origin, but transformed, as will be seen later on, under the influence of the Latin language and the general usages regulating the formulae and cadences of Plainsong.

[1] Ibid., p. 355.

[2] Bishop's essay on 'The Litany of the Saints' was first published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (1905), and was re-edited in *Liturg. Hist.*, pp. 137–64.

Supplementary Note

Greek Hymns during Paschal Week in the first Roman Ordo

The prominent part which singing in Greek occupied in the Roman liturgy of the Carolingian epoch will be appreciated from the description of Vespers on Easter Sunday and the days of Easter in the Appendix to Mabillon's first Roman *Ordo*, based on Codex Vat. Pal. 487 and on Codex lat. 2339 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. This section of the *Ordo* has been reprinted in A. Gastoué's *Les Origines du chant romain, L'Antiphonaire grégorien*,[1] with the collation of the Antiphonary of Compiègne (Cod. Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 17436) and of the *Ordo* of Saint-Amand, first printed by L. Duchesne in his *Origines du culte chrétien* (1889). The following text is given in conformity with the edition of the *Patrologia Latina*; obvious misprints are corrected. The liturgical questions raised by the content of the *Ordo* have been commented on by Gastoué in the apparatus added to the edition and translation of the text.

By comparing the Greek hymns quoted in the *Ordo* with those published by U. Gaisser from Codex F 22 of St. Peter in Rome, and reproduced in the third chapter of this part of our studies on pp. 35–6, we find that the same hymns are to be found in the *Ordo* as in the manuscript. It is difficult, however, to understand why the same hymns are quoted sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Latin. A critical edition of the *Ordo* would be of help in solving liturgical questions which cannot be approached merely from the musicological point of view.

Ad vesperam diei Paschae sancti, conveniente schola[2] temporius cum episcopis et diaconibus in ecclesia majore ad locum crucifixi, incipiunt *Kyrie eleison*, et veniunt usque ad altare. Ascendentibus diaconibus in pogium, episcopi et presbyteri statuuntur in locis suis, et schola ante altare. Finito *Kyrie eleison*, annuit archidiaconus primo scholae;[3] et inclinans se illi, incipit *Alleluia* cum Psalmo *Dixit Dominus Domino*[4] *meo*. Post hunc annuit secundo, vel cui voluerit; sed et omnibus incipientibus hoc modo praecipit. Dicit igitur *Alleluia*

[1] *Bibliothèque musicologique*, i (Paris, 1907), pp. 288 seqq.

[2] 'Scholam quoque cantorum (quae hactenus eisdem institutionibus in Sancta Romana Ecclesia modulatur) constituit; eique cum nonnullis praediis dua habitacula, scilicet alterum sub gradibus basilicae beati Petri apostoli, alterum vero sub Lateranensis patriarchii domibus, fabricavit.' Joannes Diaconus, *Vita S. Gregorii*, vol. III, cap. vi, *Patr. Lat.*, lxxv.

[3] The title *primus scholae* or *primicerius* was given to the magister who was entrusted with the education and tuition of the children—mostly orphans—belonging to the *Schola Cantorum*. The *Schola* was under the direction of four *paraphonistae*, all having the rank of subdeacon. The first had the title *primicerius*, the second was called *secundicerius*, the third *tertius*, the fourth *quartus*.

[4] Psalm cix.

cum Psalmo CX.[1] Sequitur post hunc primus scholae cum paraphonistis infantibus[2] *Alleluia*; et respondent paraphonistae. Sequitur subdiaconus cum infantibus *Alleluia, Dominus regnavit*,[3] et reliqua; et semper respondent paraphonistae, et annuntiant Vers. 2 infantibus, *Parata sedes tua Deus*. Item Vers. 3, *Elevaverunt flumina, Domine*. Post hos Versus salutat primus scholae archidiaconum, et illo annuente incipit *Alleluia* cum melodiis infantium. Qua expleta, respondent paraphonistae semel. Post hunc incipit tertius *Alleluia* cum Psalmo CXI.[4] Hunc sequitur *Alleluia. Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*.[5] Vers. *Epulemur in azymis*. Hoc expleto ordine quo supra, incipit archidiaconus in Evangelio Antiphonam[6] *Scio quod Jesum quaeritis*, vel *Jesum quem quaeritis*. Post haec dicit sacerdos Orationem, et descendunt ad fontes cum Antiphona *In die resurrectionis meae*. Quam ut finierint, dicit primus scholae *Alleluia*, cum Psalmo CXII.[7] Sequitur *Alleluia*, *Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν*. Item Versum *καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται*.[8]

Finito ordine quo supra, post hanc sequitur diaconus secundus in Evangelio Ant. *Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus All. all*. Deinde dicit sacerdos Orationem, et tunc vadunt ad sanctum Joannem ad Vestem, canentes Ant. *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt*.[9] Deinde *All.* cum Psalmo CXIII.[10] Deinde primus scholae dicit cum pueris *All. Venite exsultemus Domino*. Vers. 2, *Praeoccupemus faciem ejus*. Vers. 3, *Hodie si vocem ejus*. Post hoc sequitur diaconus Ant. *Cito euntes dicite discipulis ejus*. Deinde Oratio semper absque *Kyrie eleison*, et tunc vadunt ad sanctum Andream ad crucem, canentes Ant. *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro All. et omnes ad quos pervenit aqua ista salvi facti sunt, et dicent All. all*. Post hanc dicant *All.* cum Psalmo CXIV.[11] Quo finito, schola incipit *All. Venite exsultemus Domino*, et reliqua ut supra. Post dicitur Ant. *Cito euntes*, deinde Oratio. Deinde descendunt primates ecclesiae ad accubita, invitante notario vicedomno, et bibunt ter, de Greco semel, de Pactis semel, de Procomo semel. Postquam biberint omnes presbyteri, et omnes diaconi, seu subdiaconi, vel omnes acolythi per singulos titulos, redeunt ad faciendas Vesperas, et bibent de dato presbyteri. Haec ratio per totam hebdomadam servabitur usque in Dominicam in Albis.

Feria secunda ad Vesperas iterum ad Lateranis ordine quo supra ingrediuntur, his, *All.* mutantes post Psalmum CXI. *All. Domine refugium factus es*

[1] 'Confitebor tibi, Domine.'

[2] This title, 'paraphonista', was given not only to the subdeacons but also to the boys who had to perform the *Soli* of the Alleluia. See A. Gastoué, *Origines*, p. 106.

[3] Psalm xcii.

[4] 'Beatus vir.'

[5] Alleluia of the Mass of Easter Sunday, cf. *Officium majoris hebdomadae* (Desclée et C^{ie}, Paris, 1925), p. 701.

[6] *Antiphona in Evangelio* originally signifies the three canticles taken from the Gospel: (1) the *Magnificat*, (2) the *Benedictus*, (3) the *Nunc dimittis*, and then comes to be used for the antiphons sung in connexion with one of the three canticles. Cf. Gastoué, *Origines*, p. 290.

[7] 'Laudate pueri.'

[8] This is the Greek version of Psalm xcii, 2.

[9] Cod. Paris 974. 'Et tunc vadunt ad sanctum Andream ad crucem, canentes antiphonam *Vidi aquam egredientem de templo*' (cf. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 493). Gastoué tries to give an explanation of these divergencies in *Les Origines du chant romain*, p. 290.

[10] 'In exitu Israel.'

[11] 'Dilexi, quoniam exaudiet.'

nobis a generatione et progenie. Vers. 2, *Priusquam montes fierent aut firmaretur orbis terrae, a saeculo et usque in saeculum tu es, Deus.* In Evangelio dicit diaconus Ant. *Nonne sic oportuit pati Christum, et intrare in gloriam suam All.* Data Oratione descendunt ad fontes cum Ant. *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli. A Domino factum est, et est mirabile in oculis nostris. All. all.* Deinde post Psalmum CXII sequitur *All. 'Ο ποιμαίνων τὸν 'Ισραὴλ πρόσχες, ὁ ὁδηγῶν ὡσεὶ πρόβατον τὸν 'Ιωσήφ. 'Ο καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ ἐμφάνηθι, ἐναντίον 'Εφραὶμ καὶ Βενιαμὶν, καὶ Μανασσῆ. Ἄμπελον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετῆρας· 'Εξέβαλες ἔθνη καὶ κατεφύτευσας αὐτήν. 'Ωδοποίησας ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπλήρωσε τὴν γῆν.*[1] Post hunc in Evangelio Ant. *Cognoverunt Dominum All. in fractione panis All.* Et data Oratione cum Antiphona; qualem volueris pro loco, descendunt ad sanctum Andream dictoque Psalmo CXIII, sequitur *Alleluia, In exitu Israel ex Aegypto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro.* Vers. 2, *Facta est.* Vers. 3, *Mare vidit.* In Evangelio Ant. *Surrexit Dominus vere, All., et apparuit Petro All.*[2] Sequitur Oratio.

Feria 3, ad vesperum iterum ad Lateranis. Post Psalmum CXI, *Alleluia, Paratum cor meum, Deus, paratum cor meum, cantabo et psalmum dicam Domino.*[3] Vers. 2, *Exsurge gloria mea.* Vers. 2, *Ut liberentur dilecti tui.* In Evangelio Ant. *Stetit Jesus in medio discipulorum suorum.* Et data Oratione descendunt ad fontes cum Ant. Post Psalmum CXII sequitur *Alleluia. Προσέχετε λαός μου, τῷ νόμῳ μου· κλίνατε τὸ οὖς ὑμῶν εἰς τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου.* Vers. *'Ανοίξω ἐν παραβολαῖς.*[4] In Evangelio Ant. *Vide manus meas*, data Oratione. Item ad sanctum Andream, post Psalm. CXIII, dicit *Alleluia, Confitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo, in conspectu angelorum.* Vers. 2, *Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum.* Vers. 3, *Super misericordia tua.* In Evangelio Ant. *Isti sunt sermones, quos dicebam vobis.*

Feria 4 . . . .[5]

Feria 5 . . . .[6]

Feria 6, post Psalmum CXV, *All. Cantate Domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia.* Vers. *Notum fecit Dominus.* In Evangelio Ant. *Gavisi sunt discipuli All.* Data Oratione, descendunt ad fontes. Post Psalm. CXI *All. Οἱ οὐρανοὶ διηγοῦνται δόξαν Θεοῦ, ποίησιν δὲ χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἀναγγέλλει τὸ στερέωμα.* Vers. *'Ημέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα, καὶ νὺξ νυκτὶ ἀναγγέλλει γνῶσιν.*[7] In Evang. Ant. *Accipite spiritum sanctum.*

Sabbato, post Psalmum CXI *Alleluia. Δεῦτε ἀγαλλιασώμεθα τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἀλαλάξωμεν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν.* Vers. *Προφθάσωμεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐξομολογήσει, καὶ ἐν ψαλμοῖς ἀλαλάξωμεν αὐτῷ.*[8] Vers. *Ὅτι Θεὸς μέγας Κύριος,*

[1] Psalm lxxix: 'Qui regis Israel.' 'Qui sedis super Cherubim.' 'Vineam de Aegypto.'
[2] Cf. the Communion of the *Feria II infra Octavam Paschae, Officium Major. Hebd.*, p. 736.
[3] Alleluia of the twentieth Sunday after Pentecost.
[4] Psalm lxxvii: 'Attendite populus meus.' 'Aperiam in parabolis.'
[5] Wednesday. No Greek hymn mentioned.
[6] Thursday. No Greek hymn mentioned.
[7] Feria Sexta. Psalm xviii: 'Coeli enarrant.' 'Dies diei eructat.'
[8] Psalm xciv: 'Venite, exsultemus.' 'Praeoccupemus faciem ejus.' 'Quoniam Deus.'

καὶ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Et in eadem ecclesia sequitur Ant. *Quia vidisti me, Thoma, credidisti, beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt.* Psalm. *Beatus vir, qui timet Dominum.* Post hunc *Alleluia, Omnes gentes plaudite manibus.*[1] Vers. 2, *Quoniam Dominus sum terribilis.* Vers. 3, *Ascendit Deus in jubilatione.* In Evangelio Ant. *Mitte manum tuam et cognosce.* Item. Ant. *Misi digitum meum.* Item Ant. *Haec autem scripta sunt*; et data Oratione finitur in nomine Domini.

[1] Cf. Alleluia of the seventh Sunday after Pentecost. 'Omnes gentes plaudite manibus: jubilate Deo in voce exsultationis.'

CHAPTER V

A BYZANTINE TROPARION IN BENEVENTAN AND RAVENNATIC RITE

(I)

THE Troparion Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ and its Latin version *O quando in cruce* are to be found in the following manuscripts:[1]

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare

- VI. 35. Gradual, XII century, Latin, Beneventan script and neums.
- VI. 38. Gradual, XI century, Greek and Latin, Benev. script and neums.
- VI. 39. Gradual, XI century, Latin, Benev. script and neums.
- VI. 40. Gradual, XI century, Latin, Benev. script and neums.

Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana

- Vat. lat. 4770. Missale plenum, end of X century, Greek and Latin, Ordinary Roman minuscule.
- Barberin. lat. 603. Missale from Caiazzo, XI–XII century, Benev. script.

Modena, O.I. 7. Gradual, XI century, Greek, Ordinary minuscule.

Lucca, Capitol. 606. Missale, X–XI century, Latin Ordinary minuscule.

Plaisance, Gradual 65, Latin, Ordinary late minuscule.

In only two of these manuscripts are neums added to the Greek text: in Codex Benevent. VI. 38, and Modena O.I. 7;[2] Codex Vat. lat. 4770 contains the Greek and the Latin text, but only the first two lines of the Greek text have neums allotted to them. The rest of the Greek and the whole Latin text have no musical signs, though one can see that space has been left for writing musical signs above the words. Between the words, too, space has been left for groups of signs, wherever the cantilena is embellished by a melisma. Script and neums of Codex Benevent. VI. 38 (see PLATES I and II) belong to the mature period of Beneventan script, which, according to Loew, covers the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[3]

[1] For the dates given here, see the chapter 'La Tradition bénéventaine', *Pal. mus.*, vol. xiv. Most of them are taken from the standard work on Beneventan MSS., the excellent monograph by E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script, A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914).

[2] See Plates I–IV.

[3] Cf. E. A. Loew, op. cit., pp. 122, 124.

The study of Beneventan neums is of very recent date; they are mentioned only briefly in the *Neumenkunde* of P. Wagner. The first extensive study is given by Dom Suñol in his *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne* (1935). The first publication of a musical manuscript containing Beneventan neums is given in the fourteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale* (1931–7); it is the facsimile of the Gradual Codex Vat. 10673, with additional plates from Codex Benevent. VI. 33, Rome Vat. lat. 10645, Codex Benevent. VI. 35, 38, 39, 40, Rome Vallic. R. 32, Rome Vat. Ottob. 3, Lucca 606, Chieti 2, and others from manuscripts in Lausanne and Zürich. The publication of another manuscript, the Gradual Codex Benevent. VI. 34, which was begun in 1937, was interrupted by the war in 1940, just at the point when a detailed study of Beneventan neums began to appear on page 71 of the Introduction.

Script and neums of Codex Modena O.I. 7 (see PLATE III) show the Central Italian type of the northern zones. The conjecture of Dom Gayard[1] that the codex in the Library of Modena might have had its origin in Ravenna seems very convincing to me, as Ravenna was one of the places through which Byzantine and Syrian ecclesiastical art and liturgical customs entered Italy.

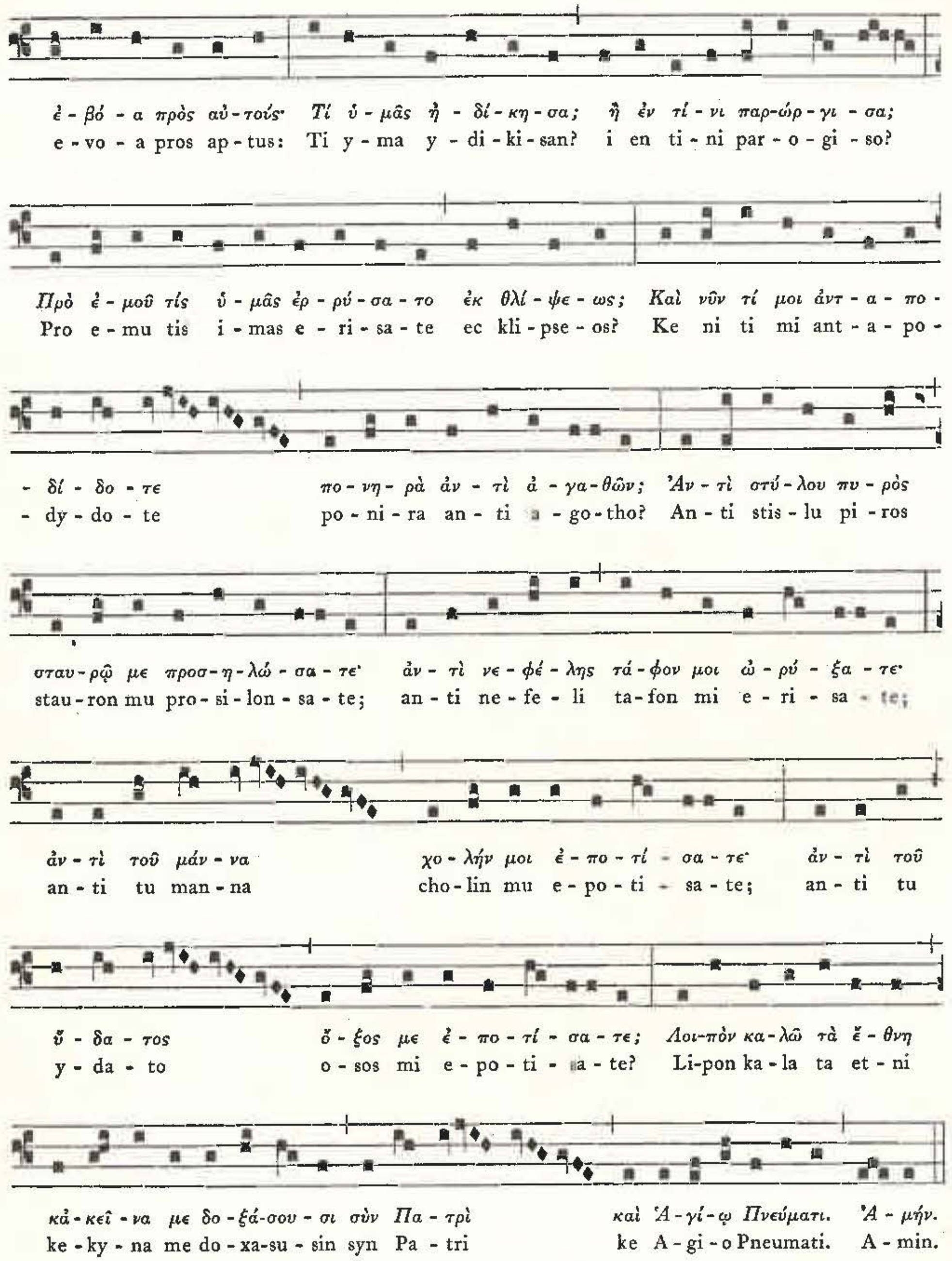
The MSS. Benevent. 35, 39, and 40, Vat. Barb. 603, Lucca 606, and Plaisance 65 contain only the Latin text with neums. All these versions, except Codex Modena, correspond with each other and also with the neums of the Greek text in Codex Benevent. VI. 38, apart from insignificant differences due to the text's being in another language. With the aid of these manuscripts Dom Hesbert was able to give a reconstruction of the melody of the Greek text on page 306 of volume xiv of the *Paléographie musicale*.

Here follow the reproductions from the Beneventan and Ravennatic codices containing the bilingual text:[2]



[1] Communicated to me by Dom J. Gayard on a sheet of music paper containing a transcription of *O quando* from Codex Modena made by him. To Dom Gayard, the Director of the *Paléographie musicale* at Solesmes, I am deeply obliged for having sent me photographs of all the versions of the hymn, and for having given me his invaluable advice. It seems to me impossible for anyone to realize fully the splendid work done by the School of Solesmes, not only for Plainchant, but for the entire domain of Western Early Medieval music, if he has not tried to fulfil—even on a very small scale—a task similar to mine when I started my studies on Eastern ecclesiastical music twenty-five years ago.

[2] As has been said, the phonetic transcription shows the scribe's ignorance of the Greek language. The same text in Vat. Lat. 4770 is even more faulty. The text given in Greek letters is taken from the Triodion (Rome, 1879).



(2)

The close relation between words and music is very remarkable in this Idiomelon.[1] With only a few exceptions, the following rule for

[1] '*Idiomelon*' is the name given to a monostrophic poem which has its own melody.

adapting the text to music can be stated: to a syllable with an acute accent a higher note of the melody regularly corresponds. Exceptions to this rule are accounted for by the peculiar emphasis of a particular phrase. In other words, any exception to this rule is due to the phraseological accent prevailing over the tonic accent of a single word.[1]

This principle is observed with great consistency in Byzantine, as well as in Gregorian, musical composition. Since it is also valid in the melody of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ, whose Byzantine origin we shall have to prove, this principle acquires even more importance. It may also be noticed that accented syllables have as a rule only one note, whereas those without accent are ornamented with two or more. This handling of the text shows that the accents no longer have a quantitative significance. A short high note usually corresponds to the acute accent. When we find a group of notes attached to an accented syllable, we may take it for granted that the music has become of more importance than the text. But in this case, too, words and music are combined in such a way that the words keep their own melody.

It is also interesting to observe how antitheses of the poem are reflected in music. When the Lord makes complaint that the Jews are returning evil for good, we find a long melisma above the word ἀνταποδίδοτε (in the Latin text *redditis*), for the purpose of focusing the listener's attention on what is to follow. Then comes, concisely and impressively, πονηρὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν (*mala pro bonis*).

The phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα is ornamented by a melisma, as if the rich melody were to indicate the abundance of heavenly nourishment, and after this phrase we find as a contrast the short statement,

[1] A. Moquereau deals with this departure from the general rule in the second volume of his *Nombre musical grégorien*, § 228 and § 229: 'Un fait d'ailleurs explique et justifie tous les écarts entre le dessin, ou, si l'on veut, l'accentuation mélodique, et l'accentuation naturelle des paroles: La phraséologie musicale. En effet, entre le mot isolé, et le mot roulé, entraîné dans le torrent de la phrase, il y a des différences profondes. Le mot isolé a sa mélodie propre, dont la note la plus caractéristique est l'accent aigu, c'est entendu; mais le grand mot qu'est le membre de phrase a, lui aussi, sa mélodie, ses accents aigus et graves d'une infinie variété. Que ses accents phraséologiques concordent avec les accents des mots, c'est ce qui arrive très souvent; mais aussi souvent l'allure générale de la phrase et ses grands accents modifient la mélodie individuelle des mots. Ces accents dominent et enveloppent les mots de chaque membre et de chaque phrase, au détriment de leur forme mélodique.'

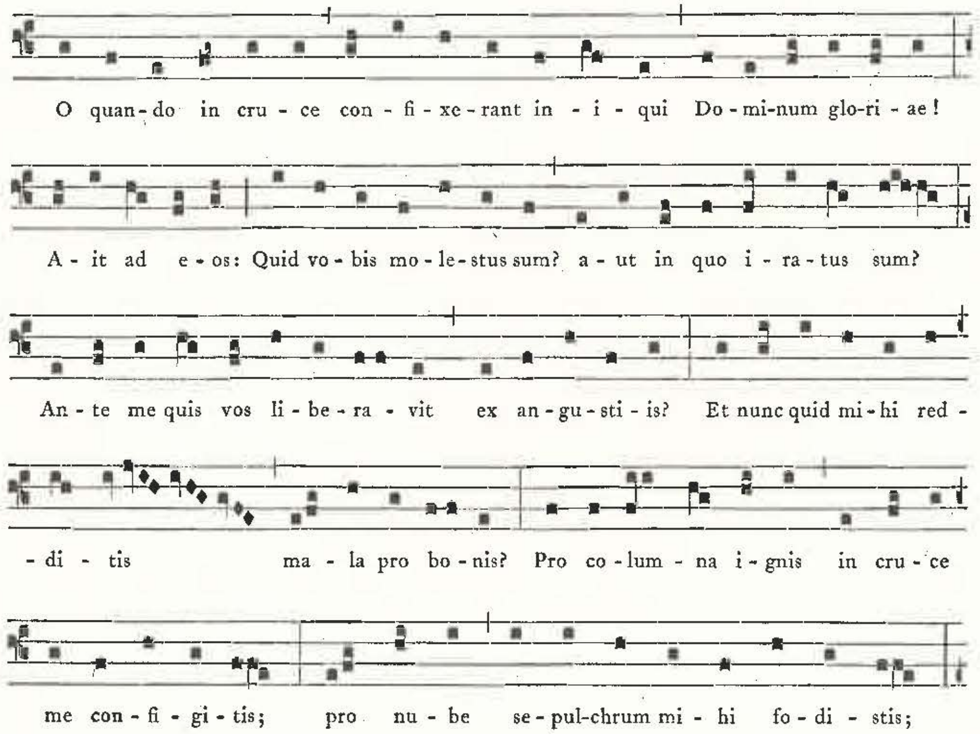
Dom P. Ferretti deals with the same principle in his book *Estetica gregoriana*, vol. i (Rome, 1934), in the paragraph *L'accento fraseologico*, p. 28. The principle is clearly demonstrated in a few sentences, which may be given here, as I should be unable to improve on his wording of the problem: 'Come in ogni parola vi è una *sillaba* privilegiata, così in ogni frase havvi una *parola*, che ha il primato su tutte le altre, e tutte a sè accentra. Questa parola ha un valore logico ed espressivo speciale; anch' essa dagli Oratori è messa in rilievi mediante un tono di voce più elevato e alquanto più vivo, e' perciò trovasi posta al di sopra di tutte le altre che la precedono e la seguono. Si ha così in ogni frase una progressione melodico-dinamica ascendente e discendente, alla cui *sommità* trovasi la parola privilegiata. Questo tono speciale, proprio di una parola della frase, dicesi accento *logico* e più comunemente accento *fraseologico*.'

χολήν μοι ἐποτίσατε (*fel me potastis*). It is worth noticing that the contrast here mentioned is less striking in the Latin than in the Greek version.

The same antithesis can be seen in the phrase ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος—ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε (*propter aquas—acetum*).

We have to deal here with a principle of composition which is largely based on *antithetic responses*. This principle, fully expounded for the first time by D. H. Müller in his book on the Prophets,[1] and later by T. M. Wehofer,[2] P. Maas,[3] and C. Emereau,[4] is one of the fundamental rules of Semitic poetry. The use of this principle of composition also justifies the hypothesis of A. Baumstark[5] that the old form of the Kontakion developed from Syriac poetical forms and took over from its source the soliloquizing and dialogistic elements characteristic of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ.

Let us now turn to the Latin version of the Idiomelon, which tries to follow the Greek original faithfully.



[1] D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (Vienna, 1896).

[2] Th. M. Wehofer, 'Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn', *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, cliv. Band, 5. Abt. (Vienna, 1907).

[3] P. Maas, 'Das Kontakion', *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xix (1910).

[4] C. Emereau, *Saint Éphrem le Syrien* (Paris, 1918), pp. 90–121.

[5] A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (Monastère d'Amay à Chevetogne, 1939), p. 111.

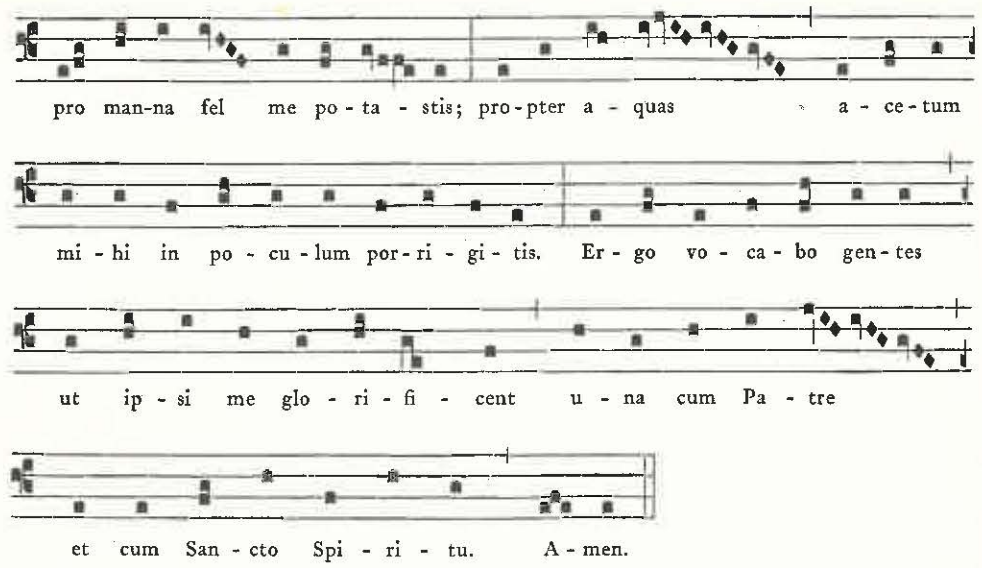


II. Beneventan Gradual, VI 38

PLATE III



III. Gradual, Codex Modena O. I. 7



The modifications of the melody are not far-reaching; above *in* (third word) an *Epiphonus*[1] is written instead of a *Pes*; on the other hand, we find on the first syllable of *confixerunt* a *Pes* instead of an *Epiphonus* in the Greek text. The first more important divergence occurs on *Dominum gloriae*, and is caused by the accentuation of these words, and another at *quis vos liberavit* for the same reasons. We also find at ἀντὶ the interval of a fifth, very frequent in Byzantine melodies, and in the Latin version at the corresponding place (*columna*) a fourth. Here also the rhythmical structure of the melody is affected by the different accentuation of Ἀντὶ στύλου πυρὸς and *Pro columna ignis*. In both cases the point at which the melody soars up coincides with the accented syllable. In the Greek text the grave accent on (Ἀν-)τὶ is immediately followed by a syllable with an acute accent; therefore the melodic line remains on the same pitch:



[1] Information concerning the denomination of neums and groups of neums can be obtained from any of the grammars of Plainsong, or from A. Robertson, *The Interpretation of Plainchant* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1937). For a detailed study, the excellent book of Dom G. M. Suñol, *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne* (Paris, 1935), may be recommended.

In the Latin text two unaccented syllables, *pro co-*, precede the accented syllable *-lum-*; therefore the interval *d–g* is prepared by two notes on *d*. Furthermore, the syllable *-lum-* attracts the note *g* (which in the original Greek version is connected with στύ-), thus forming a *Pes stratus*. The accentuation of *ignis* necessitates another shifting in the melodic line away from the Greek version; whereas (πυ)ρός has a *Pes stratus*, the neumatic notation of *ignis* begins with an *Epiphonus* on the first syllable, which is followed by a *Punctum* on the second. The setting of the words in the phrase *pro nube sepulchrum* can be explained in the same way.

But there is a very remarkable divergence from the Greek version in the passage *pro manna fel me potastis*. The cadence, which is repeated four times in the melody of the Greek version at ἀνταποδίδοτε, μάννα, ὕδατος, and Πατρί, is repeated only three times in the Latin version. The long melisma which is sung in the Greek version on the second syllable of μάννα is omitted, and instead of being placed here a part of it is attached to *fel*. By this procedure the character of this phrase is entirely changed. Originally the melisma on μάννα was intended to create the impression of abundance of spiritual food, but by connecting the melisma with *fel* the phrase sounds like a passionate lamentation. The musician is well aware of these changes in the character, or as the Greek theorists would have said, the 'Ethos' of a melody. In Byzantine music it was the expression—indicated by special signs—rather than the formulae which was essential for building up the character of a phrase.

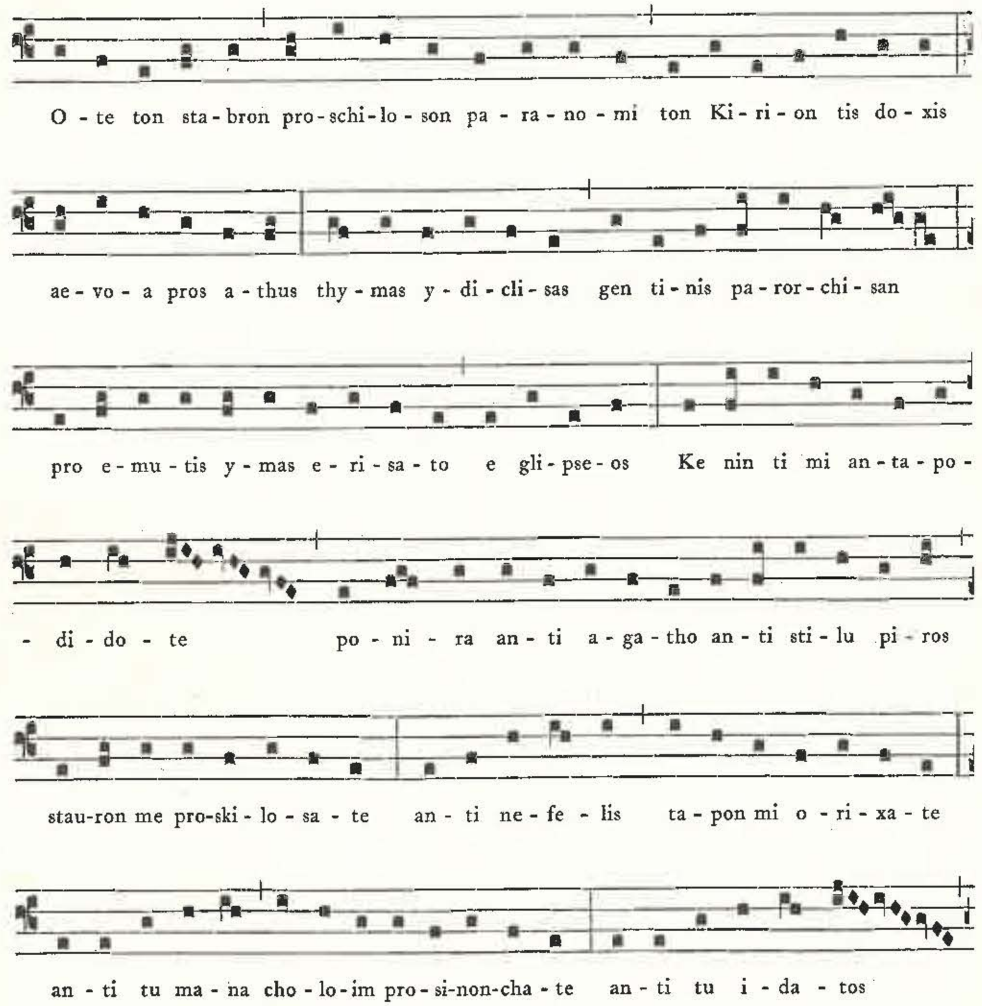
This passage is very impressive: first, at the words *pro manna* there is a gradual ascent of the melody; then a sudden descent on the apodosis *fel me potastis*, in two sections, until it returns to the starting-point. From *Ergo vocabo* onwards the melody is again modified according to the different accentuation of the Latin words. The interval of a fourth at Λοι-πὸν is removed. Here the melody rises only a third; gradually and without expression at *vocabo* it ascends a tone higher, and reaches the interval of a fifth on *ipsi*, and on (*Pa*)*tre* the interval of a sixth. Here is the culmination of the final part. Immediately afterwards the tension relaxes and the final cadence *et cum Sancto Spiritu, Amen*, passes into a mood of complete tranquillity.

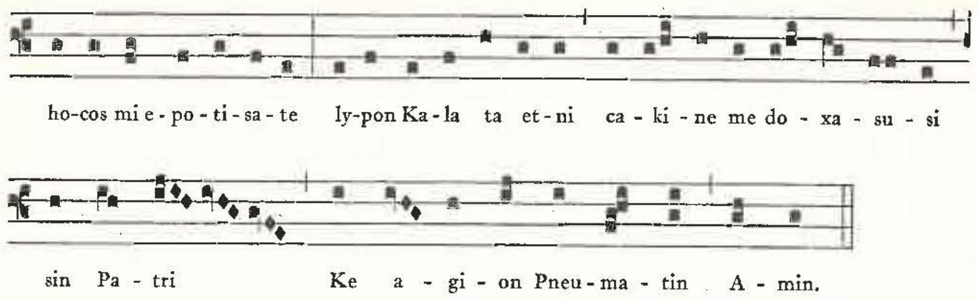
(3)

The other manuscript containing the Greek text and neums is Codex Modena O.I. 7 (see PLATES III and IV). The neums of this codex show the type common in that part of Italy of which Ravenna is the centre, and we have every reason to accept the view of Dom J.

Gayard that Codex Modena was written in Ravenna, one of the most important outposts of Byzantine civilization.

The melody can be read without difficulty, as the musical signs already represent a type of fully developed 'diastematic notation'; this means a neumatic notation which indicates the value of the intervals by placing the neums on or between lines as is done in our modern staff notation. In Codex Modena the system of four lines is already developed as in our modern choral notation. The top line is marked in ink, the following three lines are only engraved in the parchment with a sharp instrument. The top line is marked by an *F* on the margin, the second by a *D*. In order to bring the following transcription into line with that of the Beneventan Codex we have transposed the *F* clef a third lower.





The Ravennatic version differs in many ways from the Beneventan; the most obvious variant is the omission of the melismatic cadence on *manna*. But the melodic line also shows divergencies at many points. The melodic phrase on *προσήλωσαν παράνομοι* of Codex Modena ends on *a*, that of Codex Beneventan. on *g*. The next phrase, *τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης*, is simpler and more vigorous in Codex Mod. There is again a different cadence on *ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς*, and a different beginning and ending to *τί ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησα*. In the next section, *ἢ ἐν τίνι παρώργισα*, the cadence in Codex Mod. leads down to *c* and the next phrase starts again on this note, whereas the Beneventan version shows a quieter flow of melody. The phrase *ἐκ θλίψεως* lies a tone lower in Codex Mod. than in Codex Benevent. In the following phrase, *καὶ νῦν*, Codex Benevent. starts with a third, whereas Codex Mod. begins with a fourth. This interval appears again in the initial formula of *ἀντὶ στύλου πυρὸς* in Codex Mod.; Codex Benevent. has the longer interval of a fifth. Without attempting to draw any further conclusions at present, it may be stated that the interval of a fourth is characteristic of the older form of Plainchant, especially of Ambrosian melodies, whereas the interval of the fifth is usual in melodies of the Roman Church, i.e., in Gregorian chant proper. There are slight variants in the next phrases and the omission of the cadence on *μάννα* in Codex Mod., mentioned before.

Both versions differ extensively in the initial formula of *χολήν μοι ἐποτίσατε*. It seems that Codex Mod. represents the original version and Codex Benevent. a later adaptation; for we know from examples in Plainchant that absolute regularity in the structure of melodic phrases is always a sign of a later revision of melodies which formerly showed a greater variety.

By comparing the melodic setting of the antitheses:

ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα—χολήν μοι ἐποτίσατε
αντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος—ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε

in Codex Mod. and Codex Benevent., it becomes evident that the adapter tried to emphasize the double antithesis by a melodic paral-

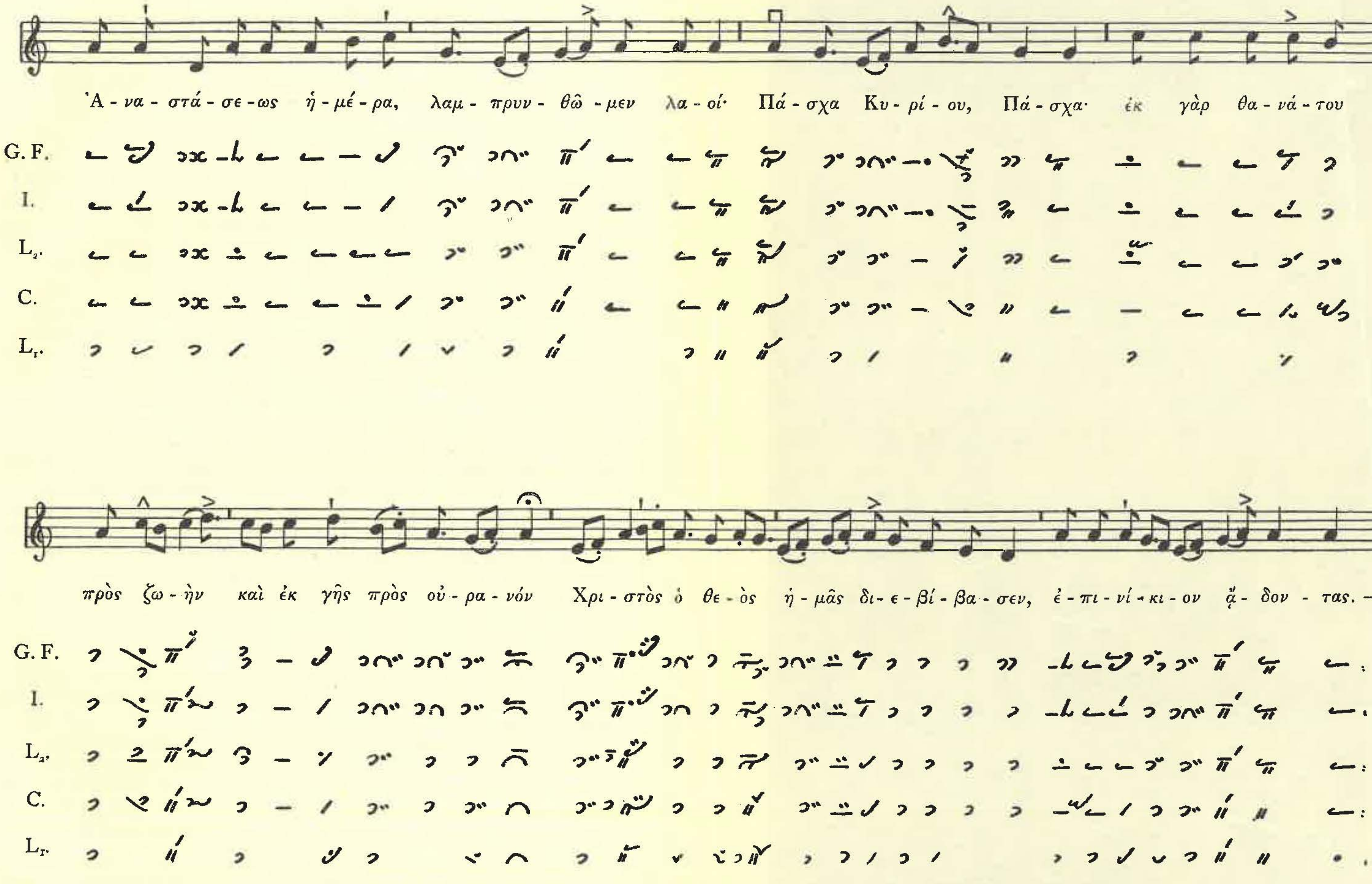
lelism. In the last five sections, beginning with *Λοιπὸν καλῶ τὰ ἔθνη*, the variants are less obvious, but still important. In Codex Mod. the central tones of the melody are *c*, *e*, and *g*; in Codex Benevent. *c*, *d*, and *f*. In Codex Mod., the finalis *e* is reached at the end of the Troparion, and emphasized in *Amin* by the cadence *e–f–e*; in Codex Benevent., *c* is predominant in the final phrases, and though the Troparion ends on *e*, the terminating '*Amin*' ends on *c–d–c*, thus obscuring the character of the tonality.

The preceding investigations will have shown that the process of adapting the melody of the Greek text to the Latin version cannot be considered as purely mechanical, but as a creative act, aiming at inspiring text and melody with the spirit of Roman liturgy. The melody had to give up its passionate expression and to accept the character of Plainsong when connected with Latin words. We have now to answer the following questions: (1) Does the melody of *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* in the Beneventan and Ravennatic codices represent an original Byzantine melody, or (2) is it to be regarded as a modification, rhythmically or melodically, of the original, due to its transference to Italy? (3) Is it possible to find the model of the Idiomelon in Byzantine manuscripts?

Luckily we are in a position to answer these questions in the affirmative. Both text and melody of the Idiomelon *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* have been transmitted in a series of manuscripts, and we are also able to ascertain the exact rhythmical structure of the melody. It will be the task of the special study which forms the third part of this book to investigate the relation of the melody transmitted in Byzantine manuscripts with the Beneventan and Ravennatic versions.

SECOND PART

THE STRUCTURE OF BYZANTINE MELODY



᾿Α - να - στά - σε - ως ἡ - μέ - ρα, λαμ - πρυν - θῶ - μεν λα - οί· Πά - σχα Κυ - ρί - ου, Πά - σχα· ἐκ γὰρ θα - νά - του
G. F.
I.
L₂.
C.
L₁.
πρὸς ζω - ὴν καὶ ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐ - ρα - νόν Χρι - στὸς ὁ θε - ὸς ἡ - μᾶς δι - ε - βί - βα - σεν, ἐ - πι - νί - κι - ον ᾄ - δον - τας. —
G. F.
I.
L₂.
C.
L₁.

PLATE IV

A. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER I

THE INTERPRETATION OF BYZANTINE MUSICAL NOTATION

(1)

THE Greek word *melopoiia* signifies the art of composing a song. It can be used here as a technical term, expressing in one word the artistic production of a *melodos*, a composer of melodies. The creative art of a composer of this period should not be misunderstood; it is nothing like that of a modern composer. His main task was to adapt an already existing melody to the words of a new poem, or to compose a melody based on already existing formulae, and to combine these formulae with connecting passages. We shall have to show, in the course of this and of the following chapters, that the art of Byzantine musical composition was subject to strict rules, which left the musician hardly any opportunity for free invention; he was obliged to work on a given pattern. His art consisted in adapting to the words the rhythmical nuances and the expression of the musical phrases of which the melody consisted, in order to create a unity between the words of the hymns and the music. The musical notation used by the composers of ecclesiastical songs provided the singers with an excellent means of reproducing the songs in the way the composers intended. It will therefore be necessary first to give a short survey of the character and evolution of Byzantine notation, before entering into the problem of musical composition.

(2)

Byzantine notation shows three main phases of evolution, of which the second and third are closely connected. To these phases various names have been given by different scholars.[1] These names were satisfactory as long as only a few manuscripts were known. But now that we have a sufficient number of important manuscripts containing musical notation, the situation has changed, and a clear and simple terminology has become imperative. The editors of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* make use of the following scheme in their pub-

[1] A classification is given in two articles of mine: 'Die Entwicklungsphasen der byzantinischen Notation', *Festschrift für A. Koczirz* (Vienna, 1930), and in 'Die Epochen der byzantinischen Notenschrift', *Oriens Christianus, Festschrift für A. Baumstark* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 277 seqq.

lications, which has proved, after mature consideration, to be the best general division.[1]

I. Early Byzantine musical notation, *c.* 900–1200.

II. Middle Byzantine musical notation, *c.* 1100–1450.

III. Late Byzantine musical notation, *c.* 1400–1821.

We may assume that the first phase was already in use at an earlier date. The notation of Codex Lavra 152 must be fixed at the end of the ninth century. This dating is in accordance with the conclusions reached by J. Thibaut in his *Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et hagiopolite* (1913),[2] though the script of the manuscript belongs, according to the present state of paleographical knowledge, to the late tenth century. The dates attributed by Thibaut to some of the earliest manuscripts were open to doubt as long as little was known about the development of this phase of notation; but now, as more specimens belonging to this epoch have been discovered, we can see that Thibaut was right, on the evidence of the development of notation, to attribute them to the ninth century, though the manuscripts may be later copies of an older original. Moreover, the neums of Codex Lavra obviously represent such a highly developed system of musical notation that we should have to place the origins of Byzantine neums earlier than the ninth century, even if no manuscripts of an earlier date containing Byzantine musical notation were to be found.

As can be seen from the table, Early Byzantine notation was in use until the end of the twelfth century. It shows a series of different shapes, which arise by a continuous process of development, having as its object the provision of increasingly definite directions to the singers for the execution of the melodies. After having thoroughly examined the different phases of early Byzantine notation I discovered that in the earliest phase the neums are chiefly intended to establish rhythmical nuances and expression, as it could be assumed that every singer knew the melodies by heart. It will be demonstrated later on that only a limited number of types of melodies existed, which were adapted to various poems. The process of composition consisted in adapting the rhythm and dynamic of these melodies to different texts, and in constructing transitions from one formula of the melody to another; these transitions, the only variable parts of the melody, were provided with interval signs.

It was only at a later stage that there was any attempt to establish

[1] H. J. W. Tillyard, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* (Copenhagen, 1935).

[2] This monumental publication, which can only be found in a few libraries, contains the most complete survey yet made of different types of musical notation and the greatest number of reproductions from MSS. from the beginning of Byzantine musical notation to the end. A valuable supplement to these reproductions is given in the plates in Dom Tardos, *L'Antica Mel. Biz.*

the flow of the melody by single signs or groups of signs. We can see a parallel to this process in the development of Latin neums before the introduction of diastematic notation ('diastema' means 'interval'). But this kind of notation is only a limited help to the memory of the singers as long as the same sign can be used for the interval of a third, or a fourth, or a fifth.

A great advance on this system was the introduction of a diastematic notation, which can already be found in manuscripts at the beginning of the twelfth century, and which gradually replaces the Early Byzantine neums. The fact that identical melodies of the same dates are transmitted to us in two different kinds of notation enables us to decipher the Early Byzantine notation, and to discover the significance of this system. But the result of these investigations is of even greater and more far-reaching importance: it shows that only the systems of notation changed, while the same melodies continued to be sung in the churches and monasteries of the Byzantine Empire for seven centuries, with only slight variations. These melodies form the basis of the treasury of Byzantine chant, and all the others, which were gradually added to them, were composed on the model of these already existing hymns.[1]

(3)

Before starting the study of the hymn Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ it seems necessary to demonstrate the method of research on a less complicated example, and for this purpose a melody from the Hirmologium is chosen. Moreover, it may facilitate the understanding of the following investigations if we give here a short introduction of a palaeographical character on Byzantine neums and the methods of deciphering them. By this procedure we can avoid asking the reader to consult books and articles on this subject which may not be easily obtainable. We take as an example the simple and short melody from the first strophe of the famous Easter hymn Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα, composed in the first mode. On PLATE IV five different stages of neumatic notation are shown, together with the transcription of the melody. Our investigations have to start from that period of notation which leaves no doubt as to the range of interval or the interpretation of rhythm and of dynamic signs. Therefore the transcription from Codex Grottaferrata E. γ. II, written in 1281 (G.F.) is given first. This is one of the

[1] For this problem see also my articles: 'Studien zur byzantinischen Musik. 2. Die frühe byzantinische Notation und das Alter der Hymnenmelodien', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, xvi (1934), pp. 217–28; and 'Über Rhythmus und Vortrag der byzantinischen Melodien', *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxxiii (1933), pp. 62 seqq. A very important contribution to the solution of the problem of Early Byzantine neums is also made by H. J. W. Tillyard in his article, 'Early Byzantine Neumes: A New Principle of Decipherment', *Laudate*, xiv. pp. 183–7.

best-known manuscripts of the Middle Byzantine notation, and has been photographed by H. J. W. Tillyard, who has also transcribed most of its contents.[1]

Next follows the notation from Codex 4590 of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (I), showing the earliest stage of the Middle Byzantine notation. The script of this manuscript is so closely related to that of manuscripts of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century that it also must be ascribed to this period. Because of its antiquity, its abundance of perfectly preserved melodies, and the accuracy of its scribe, this codex is so precious a document that it was chosen by us for publication in the *M.M.B.* as the second volume of the *Facsimilia* (1938).

The following three manuscripts represent different types of Early Byzantine notation. The first of these is Codex Lavra 249 (L_2) of Mount Athos (12th cent.). Then follows Codex Coislin 220 (C) of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (12th cent.), and lastly the notation of Codex Lavra 152 (L_1), written in the tenth or in the eleventh century.

(4)

Byzantine notation set musicologists a riddle which seemed to admit of no solution. As late as 1880 Gardthausen stated in his palaeographical study *Zur Notenschrift der byzantinischen Kirche*, that he did not intend to attempt any explanation of the musical meaning of the signs. And yet he had the key to the solution of the problem in his hands when he wrote his study on the theoretical treatise Ἀρχὴ τῶν σημαδίων, though he did not know how to make use of it.

This treatise, beginning with the words Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῶν σημαδίων τῆς ψαλτικῆς τέχνης, is designated as *ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ* or *ΠΑΠΠΑΔΙΚΗ*, i.e. as an elementary book for those who want to learn music. It has been preserved in a great many copies. Gardthausen was the first to give a transcription of the treatise, in the study mentioned above, and also facsimiles of the neums. Next a complete facsimile edition and a full commentary on the Papadike was published by O. Fleischer in the third part of his *Neumenstudien*, III, *Die spätgriechische Tonschrift* (1904). He succeeded in deciphering the meaning of the interval signs. J. Thibaut edited the Papadike of Codex graec. Petropol. 711 in *Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et hagiopolite de l'église grecque* (1913) in photographic reproduction. I gave a new interpretation of the text in an article 'Die Rhythmik der byzantinischen Neumen', in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (1920). In this essay, based on a comparative study of six manuscripts containing the Papadike, I tried to prove that the treatise not only contained a grammar of the intervals but also exact rules regulating the rhythmical nuances, and the signs indicating the dynamic value of single tones and of the course of the melody.[1]

[1] See H. J. W. Tillyard, 'Signatures and Cadences of the Byzantine Modes', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxvi (1923–5). This article is of fundamental importance in solving the problem of the so-called 'Martyria' or 'signatures', indicating the starting-point of the melody by a very complicated system. The results of these investigations are repeated in Tillyard's article, 'The Stichera Anastasima in Byzantine Hymnody', *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxxi (1931), and in his 'Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation', *M.M.B.* (1935). I am sincerely grateful to my collaborator and friend, H. J. W. Tillyard, for having lent me for my personal use his photographs of the codex. Reproduction of several pages from Cod. Grott. E. II are given in H. Riemann, *Die byzantinische Notenschrift* (Pl. VIII), and L. Tardo, *L'Antica Mel. Biz.* (Pl. XXVIII).

This seems to me the crucial point of the problem, which cannot be solved by either palaeographical or musicological research alone. It requires experience of Medieval notation in general, especially of Plainchant, combined with inquiries into the writings of Byzantine theorists, to reach a true understanding of the conditions which underlie the development of the system of Byzantine notation. A few general statements will be sufficient here, since I have dealt with the problem of Byzantine notation extensively in various articles,[2] which may be consulted for more detailed investigations. Here I intend only to give a list of the principal signs of the Middle Byzantine (round) notation and to explain the procedure of the transcription of the melodies analysed in the present study. The following table is taken from one of the numerous Papadikes. It contains the neums used in manuscripts of the Middle and Late Byzantine musical notation.

I. Repeated note: Ison

II. Ascending second: Oligon, Oxeia, Petaste, Dyo Kentemata; Pelaston, Kouphisma

Descending second: Apostrophos, Dyo Apostrophoi

[1] Recently Dom L. Tardo has made a reprint of the Papadike in his book *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*, together with other theoretical treatises in the part 'Testi di Teoria Melurgica', but without using the methods of textual criticism and without attempting to give an interpretation of this or the other treatises.

[2] 'Die Entzifferung der byzantinischen Notenschrift', *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., vii (1918); 'Die Rhythmik der byz. Neumen', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissensch.*, ii (1920), pp. 617–38; *Byzantinische Musik* (Leipzig, 1927); 'Über Rhythmus und Vortrag der byz. Melodien', *Byz. Zeitschr.* (1933), pp. 35–42; 'Der Stand der Forschung auf dem Gebiete der byzant. Musik', *Byzantion*, xi (1936), pp. 729–34. To these studies may be added, above all, those of H. J. W. Tillyard, who examined the MSS. with great penetration and unfailing energy, and reached the same results as I did myself. A complete survey on these studies is given in his monograph, 'Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation', *M.M.B. Subsidia*, vol. i, fasc. 1 (1935).

III. Ascending third: Kentema

Descending third: Elaphron

Ascending fifth: Hypsele

Descending fifth: Chamele

IV. Series of two descending seconds: Hyporrhoe

Series of two descending seconds; also doubling the value of the preceding note: Kratemo-hyporrhoon

The remarkable use of six different signs for the interval of the ascending second provides the key for deciphering the neums. According to the theoretical treatises, each of these signs indicates a separate musical expression, apart from its value as an interval, which can be rendered in our staff notation in the following manner:



Oligon Oxeia Petaste Dyo Kentemata Pelaston Kouphisma

These signs are not only found separately, but also combined with the sign for the repetition of a note and with the signs of the ascending and descending thirds and fifths. If this combination occurs, we have to remember the following rules, which show the wisdom of the inventors of this musical system:

(1) One of the different signs for the ascending second, placed in front above an Ison, Kentema, Elaphron, Hypsele, or Chamele, lends each of these signs, in itself devoid of any peculiar emphasis, its own nuance of expression, without its being reckoned as an interval.

(2) Signs which can only move by steps (seconds) are called *Somata* or 'bodies'; those which can leap over steps *Pneumata* or 'spirits'. This terminology will undoubtedly be recognized as a remnant of an old Gnostic theory of music. Byzantine theorists designate the procedure by which one of the signs marking an ascending second transfers its particular emphasis to a Pneuma, thus losing its value as an interval, *ἄφωνον γίνεσθαι* (to become voiceless). Most often it is Oxeia, Petaste, and Kouphisma that become 'voiceless', only rarely the Pelaston, and never the Dyo Kentemata. The latter never occur in isolation; they signify a second, weak note in a group, attached to the preceding by a kind of *legato*.

Taking the quaver as the rhythmical unit, as is also the case in Plainchant, we may render Ison, Oligon, Apostrophos, Kentema,

Elaphron, Hypsele, and Chamele by the simple unaccented quaver. The following rules can be deduced from the combinations of different signs:

I. A Soma, in combination with an added Pneuma, which nullifies the interval value of the Soma, regulates the interpretation of the Pneuma.

II. Ison and the descending interval signs acquire four possible nuances of emphasis, by being placed above one of the ascending signs of a second. They render it *aphonon* and take from it its peculiar nuance of emphasis.

To these interval signs were added the rhythmical signs, and others regulating the stress or emphasis, of which only the most important need be quoted:

I. *Rhythmical signs:*

Diple (διπλῆ)

Kratema (κράτημα)

Klasma mikron or Tsakisma (κλάσμα μικρόν, τζάκισμα)

Apoderma (ἀπόδερμα)

Gorgon (γοργόν) accelerando (accel.)

Argon (ἀργόν) ritardando (rit.)

II. *Signs of emphasis:*

Psephiston (ψηφιστόν) sfz

Piasma (πίασμα) diminuendo (dim.)

Bareia (βαρεῖα)

Xeron Klasma (ξηρὸν κλάσμα) staccato (stacc.)

After these preliminary remarks there will be no difficulty in understanding the different notations of Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα and the method applied in transcribing it into our modern staff notation.

CHAPTER II

THE TECHNIQUE OF MUSICAL COMPOSITION

WE can recognize at first glance the close connexion between the notations of Codex C, Codex L_2, Codex J, and Codex GF. They all contain the same melody. It is not so easy to see it in Codex L_1. Here the signs are scarcer and they only partly correspond to those of the other manuscripts. The greatest affinity lies between L_2 and C.

A close examination of L_1 makes it evident that the neums above *λαμπρυν*-**θῶ**-*μεν*, **Πά**-*σχα*, *ζω*-**ήν**, *Χρι*-**στός**, *Θε*-**ός**, **ἄ-δον**-*τας*, are not interval signs but rhythmical signs, indicating that the note which the singer chants should be doubled in length. It is at present impossible for us to use this earliest stage of Byzantine notation for our investigations, unless we can find connecting links between the phase represented by C and L_1.

Until recently the system of notation in Codex Coislin (C) had also to be considered as undecipherable, because there was no explanation of why the scribe should be satisfied with fixing the approximate movement of the melody instead of writing down the exact value of each interval. By superimposing several examples of the same text in various musical notations, I was able to state that in all these examples the melody was the same, but represented by different kinds of notation. These showed a system for determining the accurate value of intervals, rhythm, and emphasis which was becoming increasingly precise.

From examination of the melodic structure I was able to ascertain the following fact: Each melody consists—as has already been mentioned—of a number of formulae, which can also be found in other melodies of the same mode (*ἦχος*). But not all melodies of any one of the eight modes have the same formulae. Each 'echos' consists of a number of groups of melodies, built up on the same formulae. The chorister, when singing a new melody, did not have to render a completely original tune, but rather a melody of which certain parts were already familiar to him in other settings. For the reproduction of such a melody it was therefore sufficient for the notation to give the approximate course of the melody. Since he knew the formulae and cadences by heart, the singer was in no doubt whether the sign ↄ meant a descending second, or third, or fourth. The apparent inaccuracy of the notation was no obstacle to the singers who practised

this music continually.[1] A principle of composition similar to that which I have pointed out here as existing in Byzantine melodies is formulated by P. Ferretti in his *Estetica Gregoriana* in the chapter on 'Melodie-Centoni'.[2]

There is increasing evidence to show that this principle of composition is not only valid for Byzantine and Gregorian melodies but is applicable to wider spheres, both geographical and temporal.

The existence of certain formulae or cadences was pointed out for the first time by Jeannin and Puyade, who found them in Syrian melodies.[3] The occurrence of typical musical phrases in melodies of the Near East has been described by A. Idelsohn in his study 'Die Maqamen der arabischen Musik',[4] and by myself in a study on the occurrence of 'Maqam's' in Serbian ecclesiastical music.[5] Evidently we have to deal with a principle of musical composition which, starting from Asia, penetrated the whole Mediterranean civilization and spread out from there towards the north. We can even discover it in Medieval sequences.[6]

From all these investigations it is clear that scale, echos, and mode did not exist from the beginning as the necessary basis for composition, but were abstractions made subsequently. The process of musical composition consisted in fitting together and slightly varying phrases, cadences, and formulae which were already in existence. In an excellent study on melody and scale, Hornbostel[7] pointed out that the scale was not the norm which melody followed, but 'the empiric

[1] In 1935–6 I made close investigations on Early Byzantine MSS. in collaboration with Miss M. Stöhr and Miss A. Papadopoulou, who were at that time my pupils at the 'Siège scientifique' of the *M.M.B.* at Vienna. We succeeded in deciphering a number of simple melodies and in ascertaining the correctness of our transcriptions by comparing them afterwards with transcriptions made from MSS. of the Middle Byzantine period. These investigations found a valuable confirmation in Tillyard's essay on 'Early Byzantine Neumes: A New Principle of Decipherment', published in Sept. 1936, in *Laudate*, vol. xiv. Applying a method entirely different from ours, Tillyard came to practically the same conclusions as we did, which may be regarded as proof of the correctness of our views.

[2] Cf. *Estetica Gregoriana* (Rome, 1934), pp. 114 seqq. Ferretti differentiates between three classes of melodies: *Melodie-Originali*, *Melodie-Tipo*, and *Melodie-Centoni*, and says regarding the latter, p. 131: 'Abbiamo già a più riprese rivelato il differente valore espressivo delle melodie originali e delle altre due specie di melodie precedentemente descritte. Ma dobbiamo ritornare su questo punto assai importante dell' Estetica musicale gregoriana, perchè alcuni hanno ritenute prive di un autentico valore espressivo tanto le melodie-tipo, che le melodie-centoni. Questo modo di vedere in gran parte trae la sua origine dall' educazione musicale moderna ben diversa da quella degli antichi, e dai pregiudizi che hanno presieduto sino ad oggi alla nostra formazione artistica.'

[3] Jeannin–Puyade, 'L'Octoechos syrien', *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., iii (1913), pp. 278 seqq.

[4] A. Z. Idelsohn, 'Die Maqamen der arabischen Musik', *Sammelbände d. Inter. Mus. Ges.*, xv (1914), pp. 1 seqq.

[5] 'Die Structur des serbischen Oktoechos', *Zeitschr. f. Musikw.*, ii (1919), pp. 140 seqq.

[6] C. A. Moberg, 'Über die schwedischen Sequenzen', *Veröffentlichungen der gregor. Akademie zu Freiburg i. Br.*, xiii (1927), pp. 167 seqq.

[7] E. M. von Hornbostel, 'Melodie und Skala', *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, xix (1913).

law, which we learn to be permanent in the midst of a wealth of manifestations'.

Musicology is only just beginning to make use of this knowledge, which makes it possible to see the laws of musical composition in the right perspective: laws which were indeed valid for a millennium in the Byzantine Empire and, beyond it, in Occidental music influenced by the Orient.

Let us now examine the structure of the melody of *Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα* according to the principles we have laid down. We can state at once that the first phrase of the melody is known to us as an initial phrase connected with a great number of texts of hymns, of which only a few need be cited:



The next phrase is one of the typical cadences of the first echos:



We find it mostly in a slightly different form; in two variants also as an initial formula:





The same formula is used in this melody and in many others as a final cadence:



The melodic turn at *Πάσχα Κυρίου, Πάσχα* is a variation of the phrase mentioned above, and gives an increase of emphasis, by raising the melody from *a* to *b*, and then returning to *a*; it undergoes an even more intensive emphasis in the third repetition and second variation on the words *Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός*:



We could analyse the typical structure of the middle part in the same way as has been done with the first phrase. But it may suffice for our present purpose to have shown that the singers had before them only a limited number of melodic phrases, the connexion of which had to be indicated in a very precise way by the notation. The examination of the manuscripts makes it evident that this is the fact, and that there can be no doubt about the execution.

I am convinced that anybody who knows the cadences of the *Echoi* by heart, as the Byzantine singers did, will be able to sing the melodies from manuscripts in the Early musical notation, without the help of manuscripts of the Middle period. This knowledge also enables us to detect scribal errors, and to correct them. We have often been obliged to make such corrections in our transcription, and having compared them with the notation of a manuscript containing a faultless version of the melody, we have always found them to be accurate.

Having made these remarks on Byzantine notation in its different phases, and on the structure of melodies, we can now proceed to examine the Troparion.

B. A SPECIAL CASE: THE BYZANTINE VERSION OF 'O QUANDO IN CRUCE'

CHAPTER I

THE TEXT

IN the Typikon of the Church of Jerusalem, according to a manuscript dated 1122, the Troparion Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ is attributed to Saint Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (634–8).[1]

It is written in the style typical of poems of this kind, showing the influence of Semitic poetry, to which our attention has been drawn (cf. Chapter III) by Müller, Wehofer, Maas, Emereau, and Baumstark. In copying out each phrase, the end of which is marked in the manuscripts by a dot, we arrive at the following rhythmical scheme of the Troparion; the modern signs of punctuation are added from the printed Triodion of the *Propaganda Fidei* (Rome, 1879), p. 699. It can be taken for granted that Byzantine poetry is no longer subject to the classical metrical laws of quantity, but to the Semitic rule of using isosyllabic *κῶλα* or short lines as the elements of metrical structure. Each strophe of the Troparion consists of the same number of 'Kola', each Kolon of the corresponding strophes having the same number of syllables and the same accents on each syllable. If we consider the fact that all the strophes of one poem are sung to the same melody, it becomes evident that this law is the logical consequence of the close connexion between words and music. The ingenuity of the poet consists in constructing the metrical scheme of a Troparion in such a way that the Kola vary in the number of syllables, in order to support the rich and unsymmetrical flow of the melody, itself composed of short phrases, unsymmetrical in structure.

These preliminary remarks may suffice to introduce the reconstruction of the metrical scheme of the Troparion in question. The figures on the left-hand side of the lines indicate the numbers of the Kola, as marked in the manuscripts, those on the right the number of syllables in each Kolon, and the Greek letters on the same side refer to the musical phrases.

[1] The question of Sophronios' authorship is open to controversy, as can be seen from an article by Th. Kluge and A. Baumstark, 'Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert', *Oriens Christianus*, N.S., v (1915), p. 201. But it is generally accepted that the Typikon of Mount Sinai, written in A.D. 982, goes back to a seventh-century wording.

1	*Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ*	5	α
2	*προσήλωσαν παράνομοι τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης,*	15 (8+7)	β, α
3	*ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς·*	6	β
4	*Τί ὑμᾶς ἐλύπησα;*	7	β
5	*ἢ ἐν τίνι παρώργισα;*	8	γ
6	*πρὸ ἐμοῦ*	3	δ
7	*τίς ἐῤῥύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐκ θλίψεως;*	11 (7+4)	β
8	*καὶ νῦν*	2	δ
9	*τί μοι ἀνταποδίδοτε;*	8	γ
10	*πονηρὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν·*	8	ε
11	*Ἀντὶ στύλου πυρός,*	6	δ
12	*σταυρῷ μέ προσηλώσατε·*	8 9	β
13	*Ἀντὶ νεφέλης,*	5	δ
14	*τάφον μοι ὠρύξατε·*	7	β
15	*Ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα,*	5	δ
16	*χολήν μοι προσηνέγκατε·*	8	β
17	*Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος,*	6	γ
18	*ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε·*	8	β
19	*Λοιπὸν καλῶ τὰ ἔθνη*	7	β
20	*κἀκεῖνα με δοξάσουσι*	8	γ
21	*σὺν Πατρὶ*	3	γ
22	*καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.*	7	α

l. 2. *προσήλωσαν παράνομοι· τὸν, κτλ.* Triodion, Rome. l. 7. *τίς ὑμᾶς ἐῤῥύσατο* L_1, D. l. 18. *με* om. Triodion. l. 20. *δοξάζουσι* V. 1499, Typikon a. 1122.

Most of the lines of the Troparion consist of 3 to 8 syllables. There is only one line (8) of 2 syllables and two others (2 and 7) of more than 8 syllables. Line 2 is obviously a synthesis of two shorter lines, consisting of 8 and 7 syllables; they are separated by an asterisk in the Triodion, but none of the manuscripts here consulted shows this division. Yet it is evident that this is a mistake made by a scribe, and transmitted from one manuscript to another, since the musical structure shows two different phrases which justify the separation made in the Triodion. Line 7 is an exceptionally long phrase, connected with the musical phrase which in all other cases governs from 6 to 8 syllables. The dramatic character of the Troparion finds its expression in the contrast of short and long lines with which the second part of the Reproaches starts:

πρὸ ἐμοῦ	3
τίς ἐῤῥύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐκ θλίψεως;	11
καὶ νῦν	2
τί μοι ἀνταποδίδοτε;	8

The lines 11 to 18 are four antitheses, all of them starting with *Ἀντί*, of nearly equal length: 6+8, 5+6, 5+8, 6+8 in the apodosis, and connected with the same musical phrases with one exception.

Ἀντὶ στύλου πυρός,	δ
σταυρῷ με προσηλώσατε·	β
Ἀντὶ νεφέλης,	δ
τάφον μοι ὠρύξατε·	β
Ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα,	δ
χολήν μοι προσηνέγκατε·	β
Ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος,	γ
ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε.	δ

Now follows the last part of the strophe, beginning with *Λοιπόν* (l. 19), which stands for the longer expostulation of Our Lord in the seventh Troparion, sung at the sixth hour of the Office:

Οὐκέτι στέγω λοιπόν·
καλέσω μου τὰ ἔθνη
κἀκεῖνά με δοξάσουσι
σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι
κἀγὼ αὐτοῖς δωρήσομαι
ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον.

Here also the rhythmical symmetry of lines 19, 20, and 22 is interrupted by the trisyllabic Kolon of line 21. But we shall see later on that the effect of this contrast is annulled by an extensive ornament on *σὺν Πατρί.*

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TROPARION *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* IN MSS. FROM THE NINTH TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE chants of the most flourishing period of the Byzantine Church have come down to us in two large collections, in the Hirmologium and in the Sticherarium.[1] The Hirmologium contains the collection of the model strophes of the Odes, the Sticherarium that of the monostrophic chants sung at Vespers and Matins, but in addition to these there are also other groups and chants from the Office. The name 'Sticherarium' indicates that this book contains a collection of Stichera (*στιχηρά*), chants written in connexion with and following a verse (*στίχος*) of a psalm, and sung to a melody composed according to certain definite rules.

The Troparion *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* is among the chants of the Sticherarium sung on Good Friday at None. The place of the Troparion *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* is given in the Typikon of the Church of Jerusalem, containing the Service of Holy Week in the ninth or tenth century,[2] as follows:

Ὥρᾳ θʹ μετὰ τὸ ' Κλῖνον Κύριε τὸ οὖς σου ' καὶ τὸ ' Ὅτε οἱ ἔνδοξοι μαθηταί ' καὶ τὸ ' Ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου ', τροπάριον ἦχος βαρύς.

Θάμβος ἦν κατιδεῖν | τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν ἐπὶ
σταυροῦ κρεμάμενον, | ἥλιον σκοτισθέντα, τὴν ἡμέραν
δὲ πάλιν | εἰς νύκτα μετελθοῦσαν καὶ τὴν γῆν | ἐκ
τάφων ἀναπέμπουσαν σώματα νεκρῶν, | μεθ' ὧν
προσκυνοῦμέν σε· Χριστέ, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.
Στίχ. ' Σῶσόν με, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν ὅσιος.' Τὸ αὐτό.
Στίχ. ' Μάταια ἐλάλησεν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον.' Ἦχος βʹ.
Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ | προσήλωσαν παράνομοι
τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης, | ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς·
' τί ὑμᾶς ἐλύπησα, | ἢ ἐν τίνι παρώργισα;
πρὸ ἐμοῦ | τίς ἐρρύσατο ὑμᾶς ἐκ θλίψεως;
καὶ νῦν | τί μοι ἀνταποδίδοτε;
πονηρὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν·
ἀντὶ στύλου πυρὸς σταυρῷ με προσηλώσατε·
ἀντὶ νεφέλης | τάφον μοι ὠρύξατε·

[1] Facsimile editions of a Sticherarium and of a Hirmologium have been published in volumes i and ii of the *M.M.B.*

[2] Cf. Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, xii (Harvard University Press, 1925), p. 33. Here the date given is the 10th cent.

ἀντὶ τοῦ μάννα | χολήν μοι προσηνέγκατε·
ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕδατος | ὄξος με ἐποτίσατε·
λοιπὸν καλῶ τὰ ἔθνη | κἀκεῖνά με δοξάζουσιν
σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.'

Στίχ. '"Εως πότε, Κύριε, ἐπιλήσει μου εἰς τέλος;' Στίχ. '"Εως τίνος θήσωμαι βουλὰς ἐν ψυχῇ μου;' Ἦχος πλ. β'.

Σήμερον | κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου
ὁ ἐν ὕδασι τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας·
στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν
περιτίθεται ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς·
ψευδῆ πορφύραν περιβάλλεται
ὁ περιβάλλων τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν νεφέλαις·
ῥάπισμα κατεδέξατο
ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ | ἐλευθερώσας τὸν Ἀδάμ·
ἥλοις προσηλώθη | ὁ νύμφιος τῆς ἐκκλησίας·
λόγχῃ ἐκεντήθη | ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παρθένου·
προσκυνοῦμέν σου τὰ πάθη, Χριστέ·
δεῖξον ἡμῖν | καὶ τὴν ἔνδοξόν σου ἀνάστασιν.

Translation:

At the ninth hour after the 'Bow down Thine ear, O Lord', and the 'When His glorious disciples', and the 'He was born for us of a virgin', *Troparion 3rd plagal mode.*

It was a wonder to see the Maker of heaven and earth
Hanging on a cross, the sun overshadowed,
The day once more reverting into night
And the earth casting up from their graves
The bodies of the dead, with whom we adore Thee;
Christ, save us.

Verse: Save me, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth. [*The same*]

Verse: They speak vanity, every one with his neighbour. [*2nd mode*]

Troparion: When to the cross . . .

Verse: How long wilt Thou forget me, O Lord? Forever? [*Verse*]
How long shall I take counsels in my soul? [*2nd plagal mode*]

Troparion

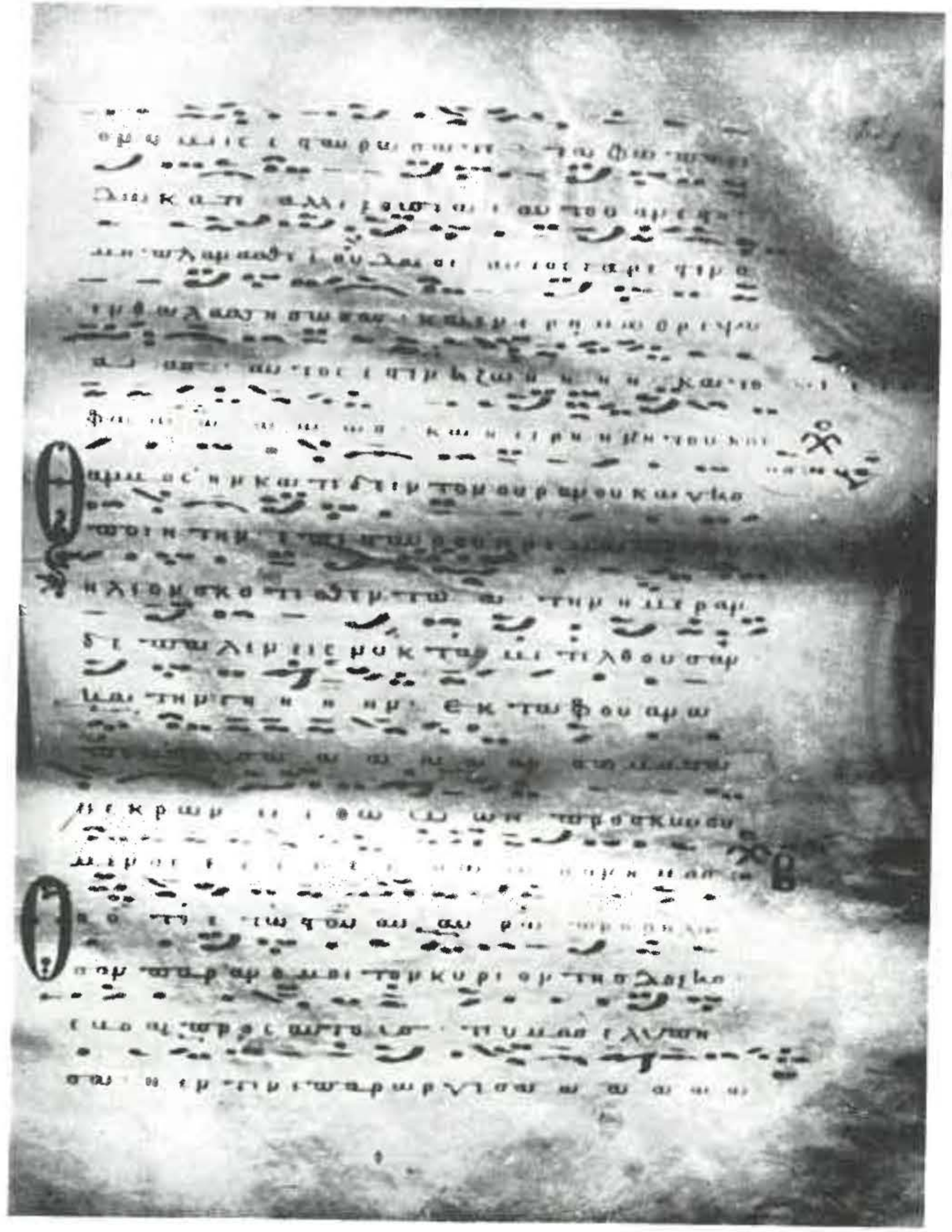
To-day is hung on a cross
He Who hung the earth upon the waters.
The King of the angels is crowned with a crown of thorns.
He who decked the sky with clouds is decked with a mock purple robe.
He who in the Jordan set Adam free was buffeted,
The Bridegroom of the Church was transfixed with nails.
The Son of the Virgin was pierced with a lance.
Christ, we worship Thy sufferings:
Show us also Thy glorious resurrection.



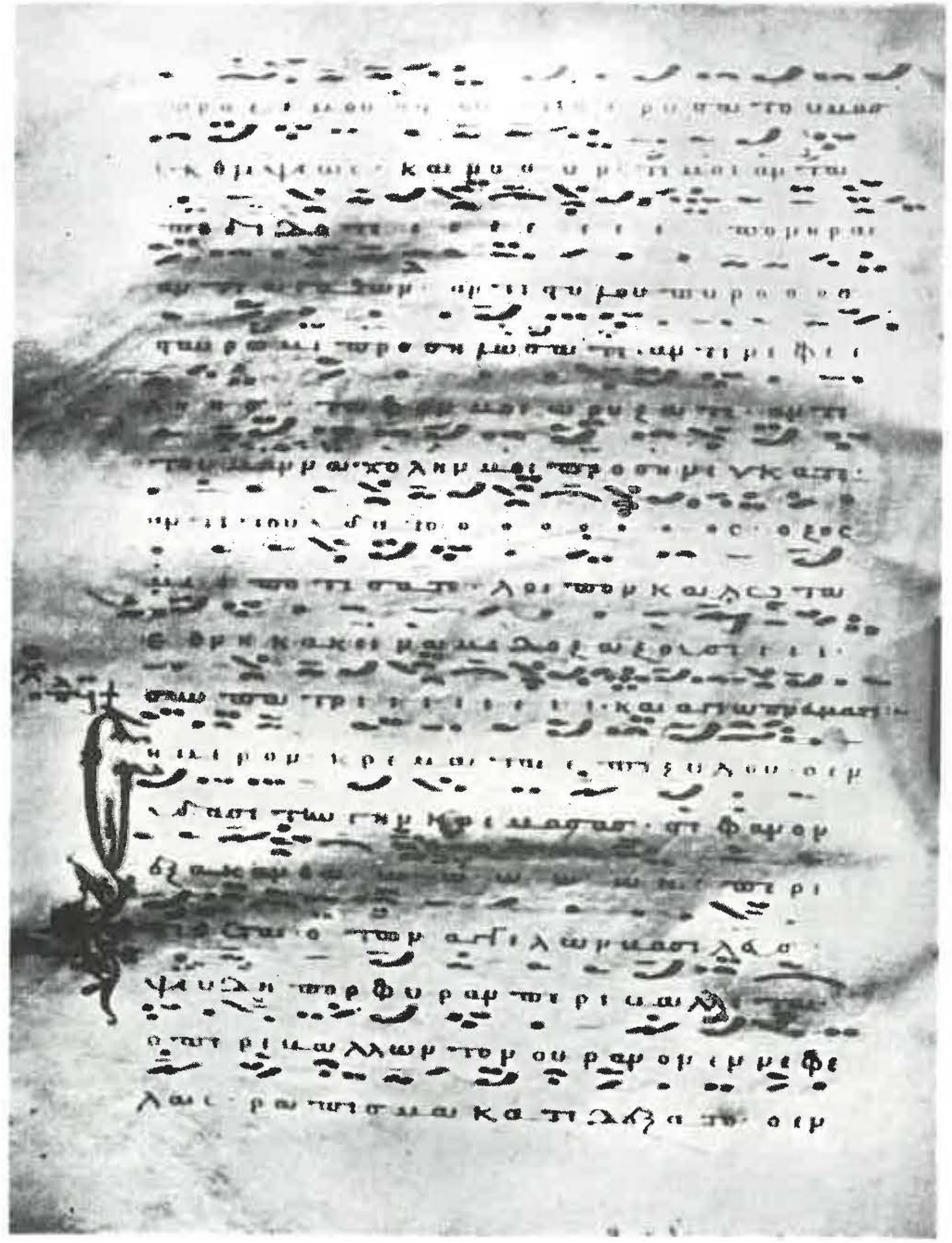
V. Codex Lavra 252, notation of the ninth cent., fol. 45 v.



VI. Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 136, notation of *circa* 1000, fol. 228 v.



VII. Codex Vatopedi 1499, fol. 297 r.



VIII. Codex Vatopedi 1499, fol. 297 v.

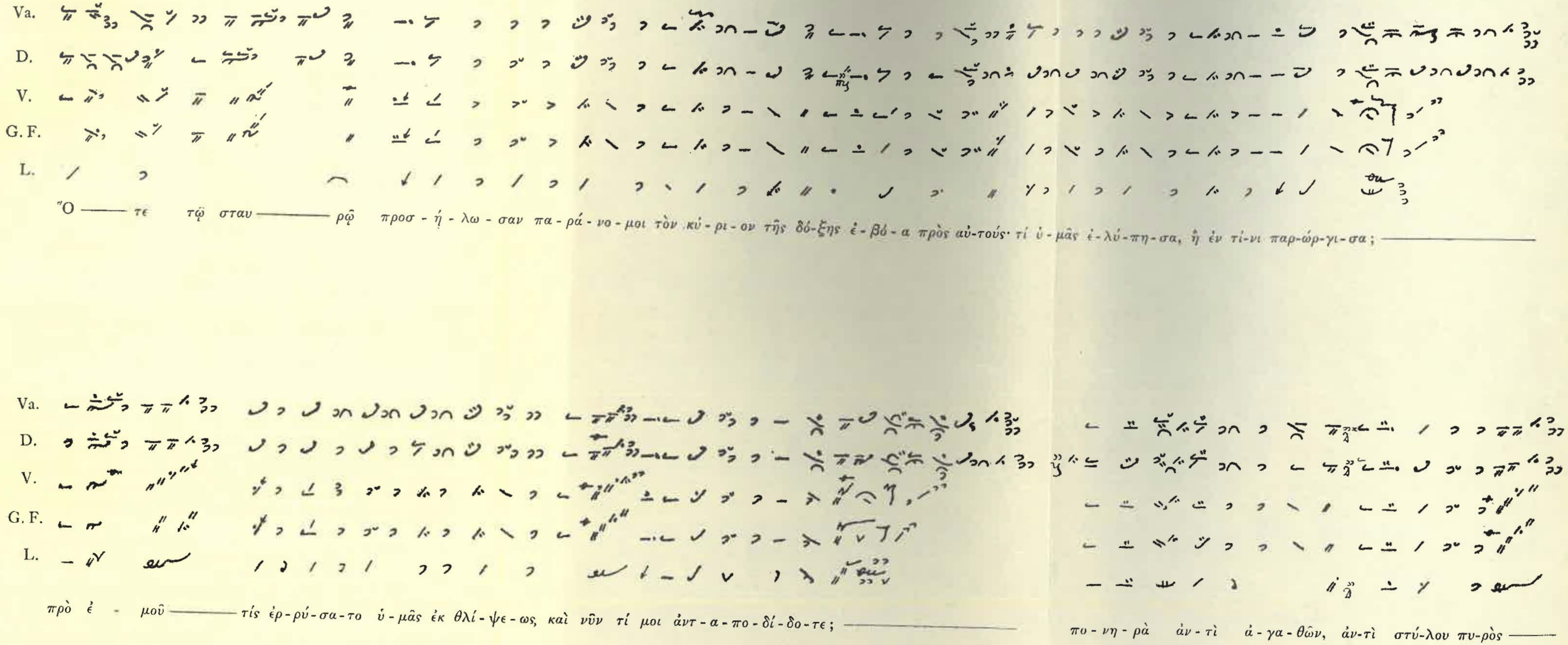

Va.
D.
V.
G. F.
L.
Ὅ —— τε τῷ σταυ —— ρῷ προσ - ή - λω - σαν πα - ρά - νο - μοι τὸν κύ - ρι - ον τῆς δό-ξης ἐ - βό - α πρὸς αὐ-τούς· τί ὑ - μᾶς ἐ-λύ-πη-σα, ἢ ἐν τί-νι παρ-ώρ-γι-σα; ——
Va.
D.
V.
G. F.
L.
πρὸ ἐ - μοῦ —— τίς ἐρ-ρύ-σα-το ὑ - μᾶς ἐκ θλί - ψε - ως, καὶ νῦν τί μοι ἀντ - α - πο - δί - δο - τε; ——
πο - νη - ρὰ ἀν - τὶ ἀ - γα - θῶν, ἀν-τὶ στύ-λου πυ-ρὸς ——

Plate IX

The three Troparia have the same place and sequence in the manuscripts of the tenth to the twelfth century, which are considered in the following investigations, as well as in the printed Triodion; only the intercalated chants vary.

The following manuscripts have been consulted in the examination of the melodic structure of the Troparion Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ:

Mount Athos		
Lavra 252	X saec.[1]	fol. 45 r., v.
Vatopedi 1492	A.D. 1242[2]	fol. 200 v.
,, 1499	A.D. 1292[2]	fol. 297 r., v.
Athens		
Nat. Libr. 883	XII saec.[3]	fol. 280 r.
,, 884	A.D. 1341	fol. 390 v.
,, 885	XV saec.	fol. 165 r.–172 v.
,, 889	XII saec.	
,, 890	XIII saec.	
,, 892	XIII saec.	
Grottaferrata		
Δ. β. X	A.D. 1138[4]	fol. 27 v.
Γ. β. XXXV	XII saec.	fol. 46 v.–47 r.
Vienna		
Nat. Libr. Theol. graec. 136	X–XI saec.[5]	fol. 228 v.
Nat. Libr. Theol. graec. 181	A.D. 1221[6]	fol. 249 v.–250 r.

All these manuscripts are written more or less in the archaic script of the liturgical codices which makes dating difficult when a subscription is lacking. In comparing manuscripts of various centuries great differences are immediately apparent. In Codex Lavra 252, for example, not every syllable has a corresponding neum; manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries show the fine strokes of the notation characteristic of this period, while those of a later period

[1] See p. 95, n. 2.

[2] Cf. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, xi (1924), pp. 234–5.

[3] The codices have been examined by Miss A. Papadopoulou, to whom I wish to express here my gratitude for her indefatigable help, first as my pupil at Vienna and afterwards, at Oxford, as a brilliant student, to whom the *M.M.B.* and I myself are highly indebted. Miss Papadopoulou has also made the tables for the comparative studies of the different stages of notation of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ.

[4] Cf. Dom L. Tardo, *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*, p. 62.

[5] Dom Tardo attributes the MS. to the 11th cent., but the type of neums seems to indicate an earlier date. Photographs of part of the codex are in my possession.

[6] A facsimile of the codex has been published as vol. i of the *M.M.B.* in 1935.

show the round, thick signs which have given the notation of this epoch the name of 'round notation'.

The process of evolution of the neumatic notation becomes evident when we compare facsimiles of three pages containing the Troparion; the first from Codex Lavra 252, written in the ninth century; the second from Codex Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 136, written about the year 1000; and the third from Codex Vatopedi 1499, written in 1292. (See PLATES V, VI, and VII/VIII).

A comparative study of the different phases of notation with all the intermediate stages reveals the fact that we have before us in all these examples the same melody, only varied by slight embellishments. A comparative table will best illustrate this. We will confine ourselves to superimposing five versions of the notation, of which three can be verified from the facsimiles on PLATES V–VIII, the fourth by consulting the facsimile edition of the Sticherarion Codex Dalassinos, vol. i of the *M.M.B.*, fol. 249 r.–250 v. The fifth version is taken from Codex Grottaferrata *Δ. β.* x, *c.* 1138. (See PLATES IX and X.)

The greatest difficulty undoubtedly arises from the undeveloped notation of Codex Lavra 252. This manuscript is attributed by Spyridon–Eustratiades to the tenth century.[1] But their datings are often incorrect. In comparing Codex Lavra 252 with Codex Lavra 152, assigned by J.-B. Thibaut to the ninth century,[2] we find that Codex Lavra 252 shows a stage of notation very similar to that of Codex Lavra 152, and must belong to about the end of the ninth century.

In examining the notation, three points especially call for our attention:

[1] Spyridon and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos*, Harvard Theological Studies, xii (1925), p. 33.

[2] *Monuments ekphonétiques et hagiopolites de l'église grecque*, p. 73. Thibaut, in describing this 'Fragment d'un Hirmologe du IXe siècle' (Cod. Petropol. 361), says: 'Ce précieux manuscrit rapporté du mont Athos par l'Archimandrite Porphyre Ouspensky prend place parmi les plus anciens monuments relatifs aux collections hirmologiques primitives disposées par Acolouthiai ou séquences. Ce fragment remonte au IXe siècle. Il se compose de 2 feuillets de 195 × 150 mm. 1 col. 19 lignes.' Comparing these fragments of Codex Petropol. 361 with Lavra 152, we find a striking resemblance. A close investigation shows that the fragments belonged to this codex and have been cut out by Ouspensky—a procedure not unusual with him in order to enrich the collection in St. Petersburg. The strophe *Ὅτι Θεός* with which fol. 12 of Codex Lavra 152 at present begins is the third one of the Akoluthia *Τῷ διαβιβάσαντι* on fol. 1 v. of the fragment, reproduced in *Monuments ekph. et hagiop.*, p. 74. From this it is evident that these fragments originally had their place before fol. 1 of the actual numeration. But as *Τῷ διαβιβάσαντι* is the ninth akoluthia of the first mode, Ouspensky must have had predecessors who cut out the first ten or twelve folios of the MS. Folio 2 of Codex Petropol. 361 has been cut out from the third plagal mode. H. Riemann published six pages from the Lavra 152 in his book *Die byzantinische Notenschrift* (1909) from negatives he received from P. Maas, and attributed the MS. to the end of the 10th cent. ('*circa* 1000'). This date is definitely too late, as we can prove to-day, knowing more intermediary stages of the notation than Riemann did. But it is absurd to give the 13th century as the date of this MS., as is done in the *Catalogue* of Spiridion and Eustratiades. No explanation can be found for such a mistake.

(1) There are some syllables without any neumatic sign. E.g. (*first line*) **τω σταυ**ρω, *ελυπ*η*σα*, **η** *εν*, *παρωργισα*; (*second line*) **υ***μας*, *θλι***ψ***εως*, **και** *ανταπ***ο***διδοτε*, &c.

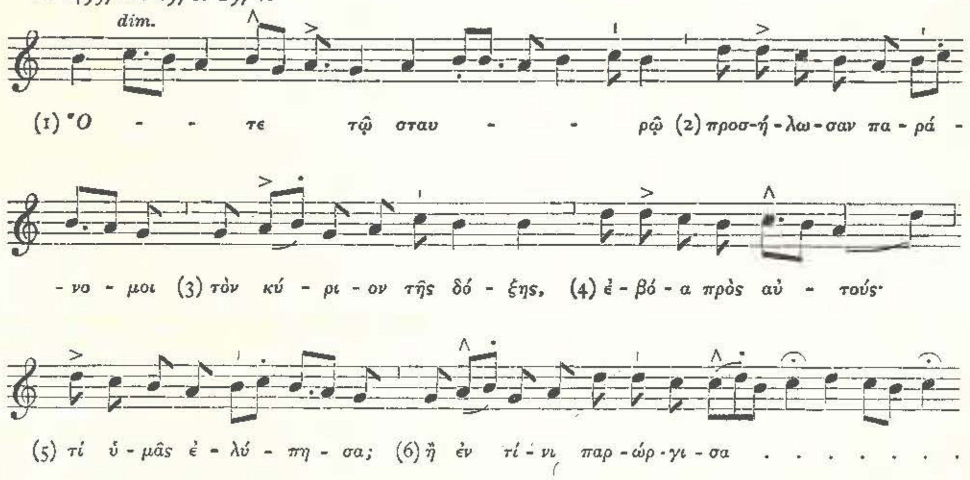
(2) Some of the signs indicate a group of notes whose composition was known to the singers, but is not expressed by interval signs. E.g. (*first line*) *παρωργι***σα**; (*second line*) **εμου**, *ανταποδιδο***τε**, *π***υρος**; (*third line*) *νεφε***λης**, &c.

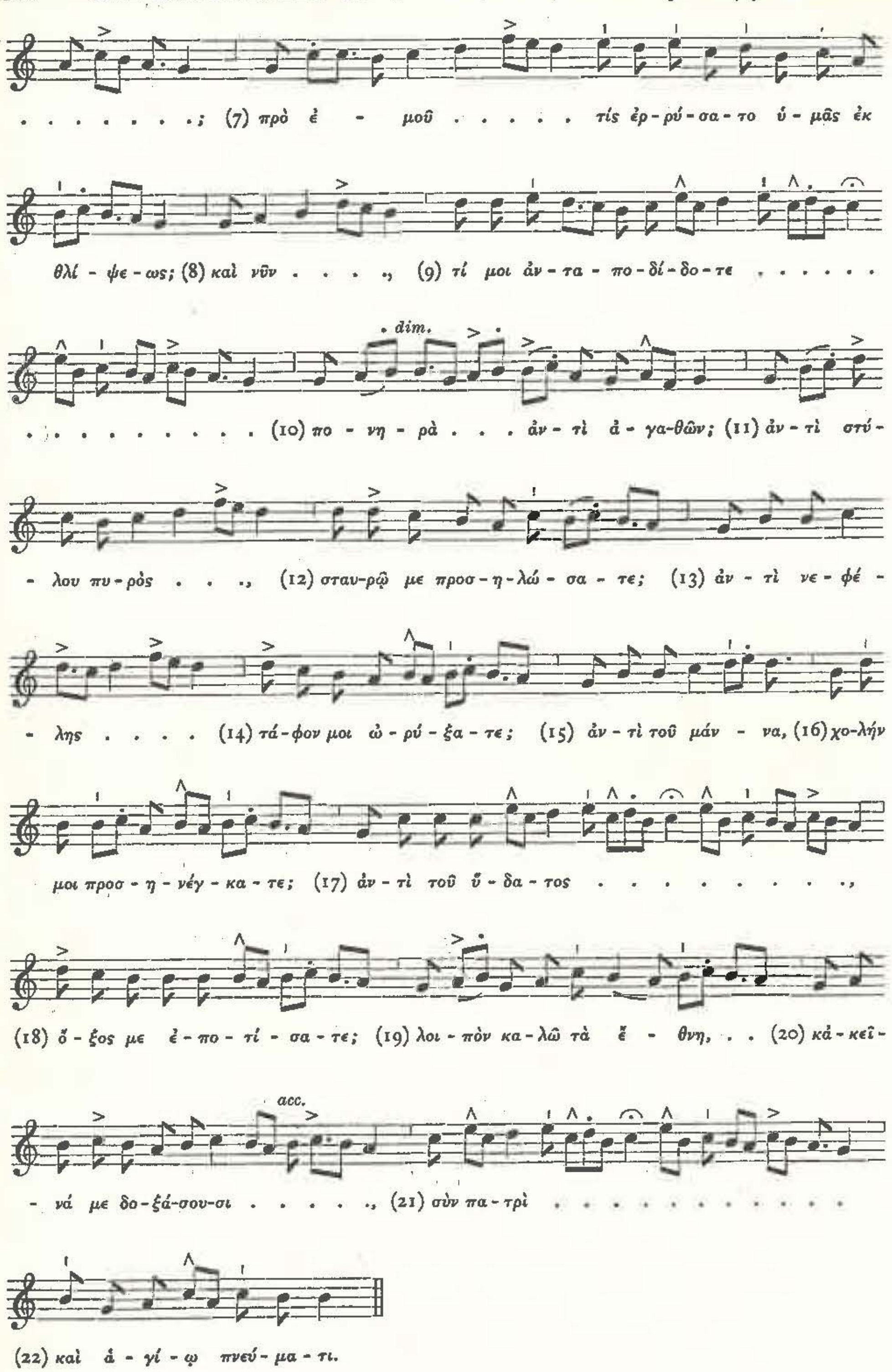
(3) Some of the neumatic signs have only rhythmical significance, and do not indicate the flow of the melody. E.g. (*first line*) **δο***ξης*, *αυ***τους**; (*second line*) **ε***μου*; (*third line*) *νεφε***λης**, &c.

But if we compare the version L on PLATES IX and X with GF, V, D, and Va, it is soon apparent that there is an affinity between L and the other four versions. E.g. (*first line*) **προσηλω***σαν*, **παρανομοι**, **κυριον**, **δο***ξης*, *αυ***τους**, **τι ελυπησα**, **εν**, **παρωργισα**; (*second line*) **προ εμου τις ερρυσατο**, &c.

The connexion between GF, V, D, and Va is quite obvious. GF represents a developed stage of the Early Byzantine notation and V its highest development, from which it is only a short step to the early stage of the Middle Byzantine notation, as represented in Codex Iberon, reproduced in vol. ii of the *M.M.B.* D and Va have been used as sources for the transcriptions of Byzantine melodies in the series of *Transcripta* of the *M.M.B.* These codices show the best type of fully developed Middle Byzantine musical notation, which clearly indicates the intervals as well as the rhythmical and dynamic signs which give correct interpretation to the melody. The transcription from Codex Vatopedi 1499 (Va) into our modern staff notation reads as follows:

Va 1499, fol. 297 r.–297 v.





Variants.

(1) A. 883, A. 884, D.



A. 890.



The beginning of D is corrupt and has to be corrected according to A. 883 and A. 884.

(3) (4) D.



(6) (7) D.



(7) D.



(9) D.



(10) D, A. 883, A. 884.



(12) (13) D, A. 883, A. 884.



(14) D.



A. 883, A. 884.



(15) D.



A. 883.



(16) D.



A. 883, A. 884.



(17) D.



A. 883, A. 884.



(18) (19) D.



(21) D.



The variants given here make it quite clear that Codex Vindob. theol. gr. 181 (D) represents a development of a simpler version of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ, different from Vatopedi 1499 and also from the versions of Codex Athen. 883 and 884. But all the variants are of minor significance and do not affect the skeleton of the melody; they chiefly affect the ornaments or show a different enrichment of a simple line of melody. We may therefore take the Codex Vatopedi (Va) as a basis for the examination of the melody.

CHAPTER III

THE MELODIC STRUCTURE OF Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ

A COMPARISON of the Hirmos Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα and the Troparion Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ shows at first glance that the latter represents a different type of melody. In Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα nearly every syllable corresponds to a single note, while the melody of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ represents a highly developed and ornamented type, with groups of notes on many of the syllables, and extended cadences at the end of the phrases.

A close examination shows further that the melody itself consists of a number of phrases, which, with variations, are constantly repeated. These melodic phrases have a compass of the voice, ranging between a fourth and a seventh, which may be illustrated by the following table:

Fourth







Fifth





Sixth



Seventh



The melody is composed in the second mode (ἦχος β′). Its *Martyria* or Signature has been deciphered by Tillyard and interpreted in his excellent article on 'Signatures and Cadences of the Byzantine Modes'.[1] As this mode begins, according to Medieval theory, one note above Mode I, we shall expect the opening on *e*; but in fact the melodies start on *g*, *a*, and *b* natural. The neumatic signs of Oxeia and Dyo Kentemata, added 'to the plain signature of a cursive beta and two commas, indicate an opening on *b*'. The *finalis* of Mode II is either *e* or *b* natural; in the present case the melody ends on *b*, and uses as other important centres of melodic structure *g* and *d*. We have the impression, therefore, that the melody is written in a kind of *g*-major rather than in the second Byzantine mode, as *e* has no importance at all in its development.

Dividing the melody according to the Kola of the text into twenty-three sections, we arrive at the scheme reproduced on PLATE XI, which shows that the melody consists of five different phrases: α, β, γ, δ, ε. The first phrase (α) occurs three times, the second (β) nine times, the third (γ) five times, the fourth (δ) five times, the fifth (ε) only once. This table also makes it clear which notes are essential to the melody and which are only accidental. The melody is constructed of the different sections as follows:[2]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
α	β	α	β	β	γ	δ	β	δ	γ	ε	δ	β	δ	β	δ	β	γ	β	β	γ	γ	α

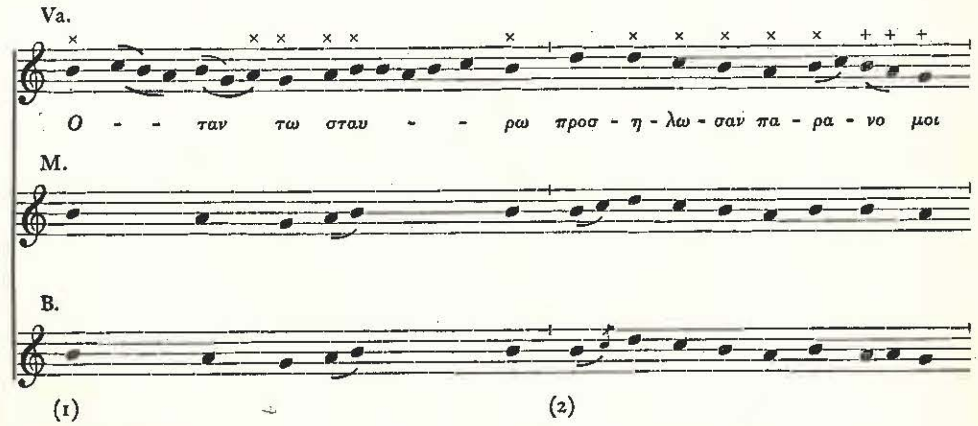
[1] See *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxvi (1923–5), pp. 78 seqq., and *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, M.M.B. Subsidia*, vol. i, fasc. 1 (1935), pp. 32–3.

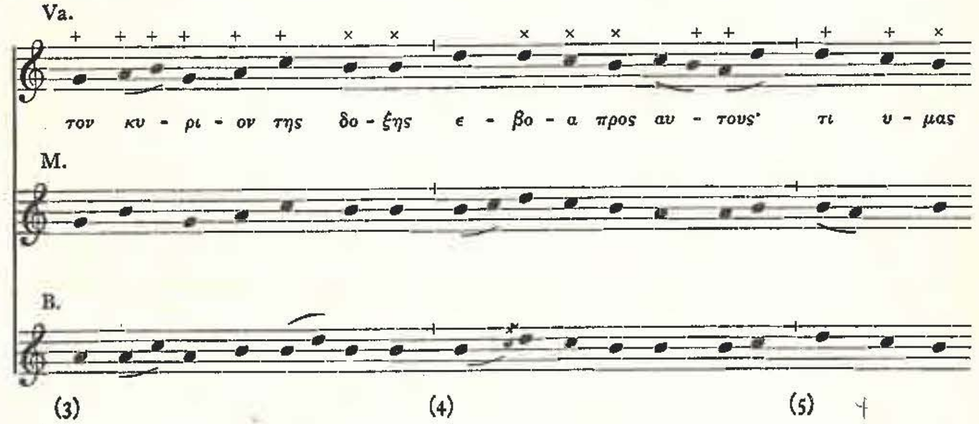
[2] *προσήλωσαν παράνομοι | τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης* consists of two different melodic phrases and should therefore be divided into two Kola, as is done in the printed Triodion, though none of the MSS. examined indicate the division by a dot.

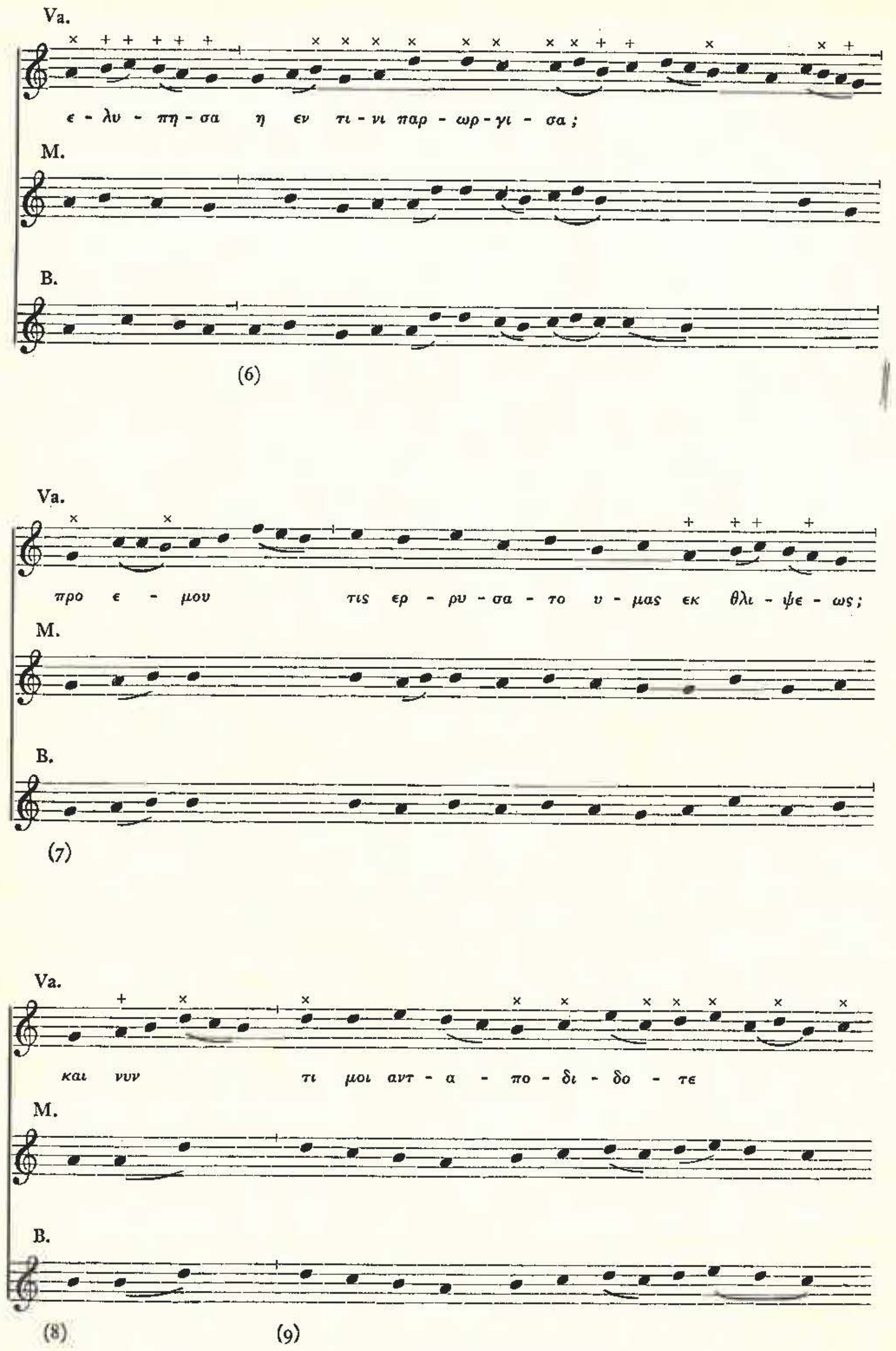
CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF THE RAVENNATIC AND THE BENEVENTAN VERSIONS OF 'O QUANDO IN CRUCE' WITH THE BYZANTINE VERSION

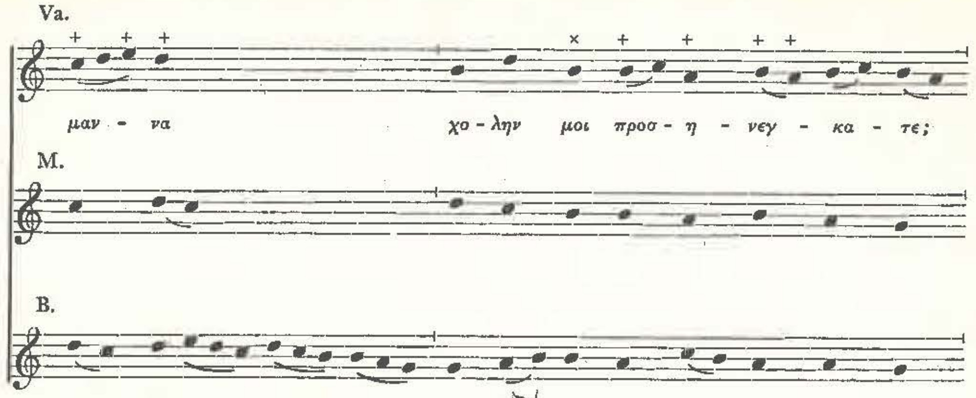
WE shall now proceed to compare the Byzantine version of the Troparion "Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ, represented by the Vatopedi Codex (Va), with the Ravennatic version of the Antiphon of Codex Modena (M) and with the Beneventan version (B), in order to find out which of the two Italian versions seems to show a closer connexion with the Byzantine version of the melody. In every case the line of the melody is rendered by notes without any rhythmical value, in order to facilitate the examination of the melodic structure. In Va all notes which occur in both versions are marked by the sign ×, those which only occur in one of the two versions by +.



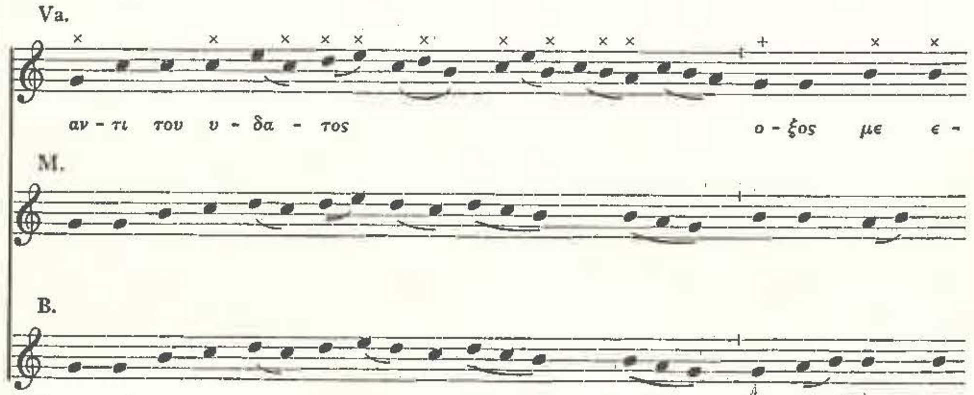



Va.
ε - λυ - πη - σα η εν τι - νι παρ - ωρ - γι - σα ;
M.
B.
(6)
Va.
προ ε - μου τις ερ - ρυ - σα - το υ - μας εκ θλι - ψε - ως ;
M.
B.
(7)
Va.
και νυν τι μοι αντ - α - πο - δι - δο - τε
M.
B.
(8)
(9)

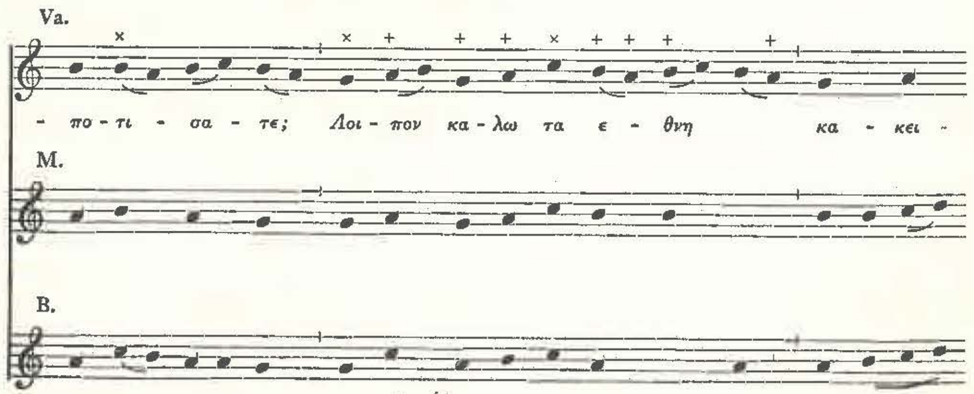

Va.
πο - νη - ρα αν - τι α - γα - θων ;
M.
B.
(10)
Va.
αν - τι στυ - λου πυ - ρος σταυ - ρω με προσ - η - λω - σα - τε,
M.
B.
(11)
(12)
Va.
αν - τι νε - φε - λης τα - φον μοι ω - ρυ - ξα - τε; αν - τι του
M.
B.
(13)
(14)
(15)



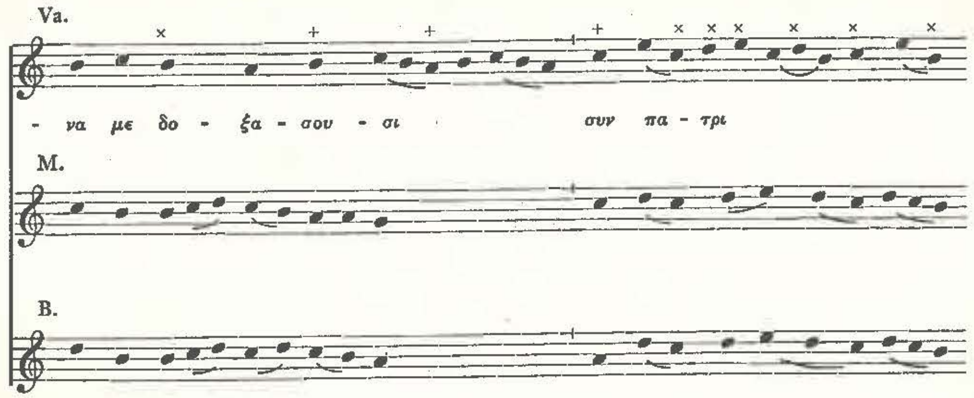
(16)



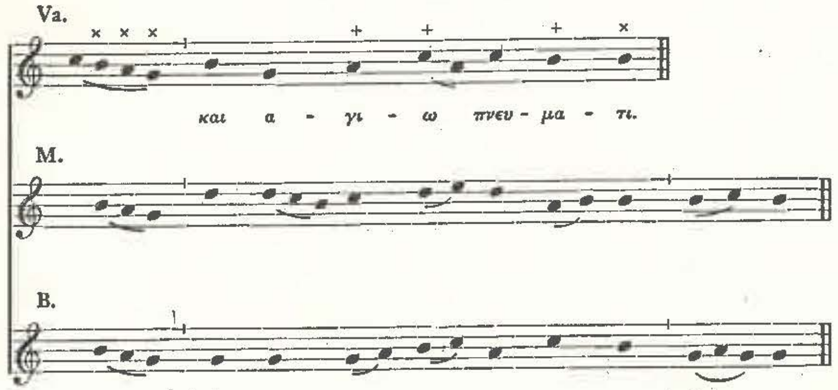
(17) (18)



(19) (20)



(21)



(22) (23)

It is clear at once that the Ravennatic version of M is the simpler; it represents a more or less syllabic type. The cadence on *παρώργισα* is nearer to that of the Byzantine than the Beneventan codex. This latter has an elaborate cadence on the second syllable of *μάννα* which is repeated on *ὕδατος* and on *πατρί*. The short melodic phrase on *μάννα* seems to be the original one, and the rich melisma in the Beneventan manuscript is a later addition, intended to build up a melodic parallelism between the words 'manna' and 'water'. This conjecture is supported by various Byzantine versions of the melody shown on Plates IX and X, none of which have the melisma on *μάννα*, but all on *ὕδατος*. The melodic version of the Vatopedi codex shows a very developed state of the music written down in neums in Codex Modena. We do not possess any Byzantine codex containing the melody in just this state. In Codex Lavra, written in the ninth century, the melodic line is not yet sufficiently developed; in Codex Grottaferrata, A.D. 1138, it is already much more developed than in Codex Modena. Probably a Byzantine manuscript of the end of the

tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century—if by chance a manuscript of this period should reappear—would contain the melody in a form parallel to that of the Ravennatic version.

Some divergencies are also to be found in the cadences and initial formulae of the two Italian versions, and between both of them and the Byzantine version. These divergencies between the two Italian versions may be due to local adaptations of the melody, whereby the Ravennatic versions preserved in a higher degree the primordial character of the melody, which originated either somewhere in the Byzantine Empire or on Syro-Palestinian soil. In this case the Italian and Byzantine versions of the melody would represent parallel developments from a common source, leading back to the Church of Jerusalem.

The developed state of the melody in the Vatopedi Codex gives a good insight into the process of musical composition. The musician will find the same procedure of embellishing a note and filling up an interval by ascending or descending steps which is familiar to him from compositions of the present time as well as from those of the past. These facts are so obvious that they need no further explanation.

PART III

ANALOGIES BETWEEN EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, AMBROSIAN, AND GREGORIAN MELODIC FORMULAE

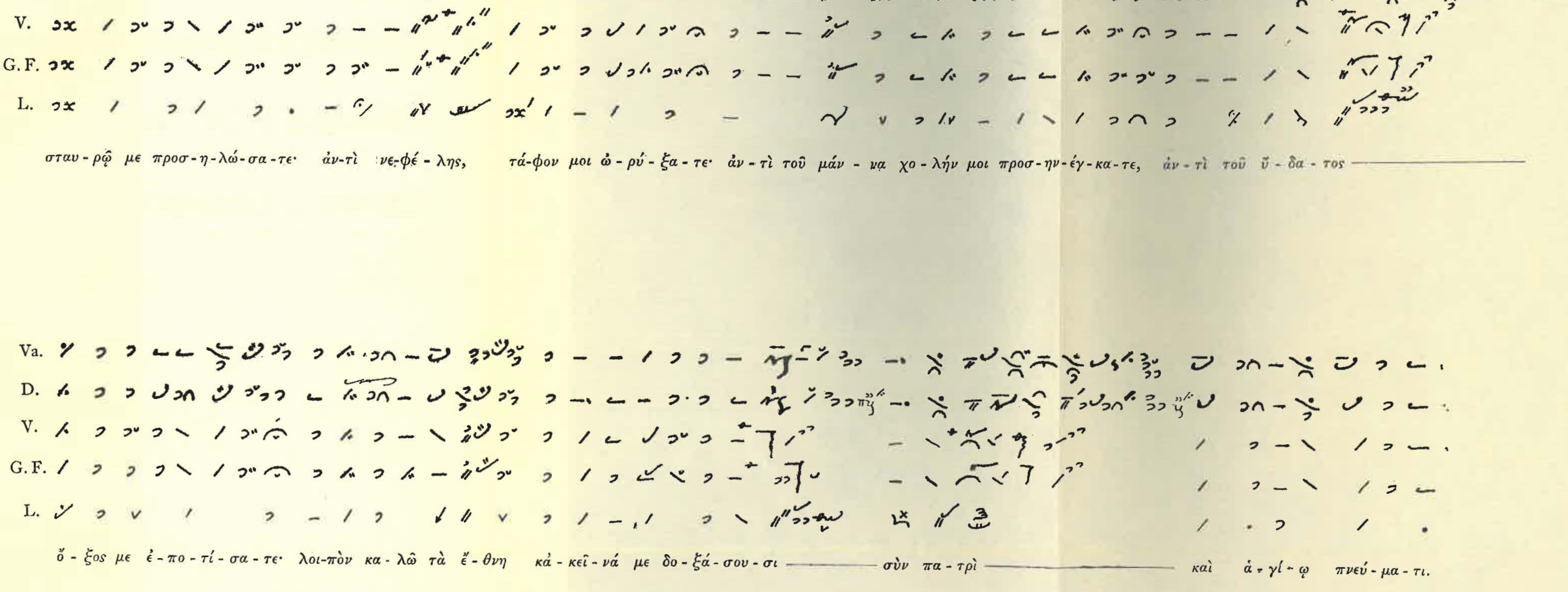

Va.
D.
V.
G.F.
L.
σταυ-ρῷ με προσ-η-λώ-σα-τε· ἀν-τὶ νε-φέ-λης, τά-φον μοι ὠ-ρύ-ξα-τε· ἀν-τὶ τοῦ μάν-να χο-λήν μοι προσ-ην-έγ-κα-τε, ἀν-τὶ τοῦ ὕ-δα-τος
Va.
D.
V.
G.F.
L.
ὄ-ξος με ἐ-πο-τί-σα-τε· λοι-πὸν κα-λῶ τὰ ἔ-θνη κἀ-κεῖ-νά με δο-ξά-σου-σι σὺν πα-τρὶ καὶ ἁ-γί-ῳ πνεύ-μα-τι.

Plate X

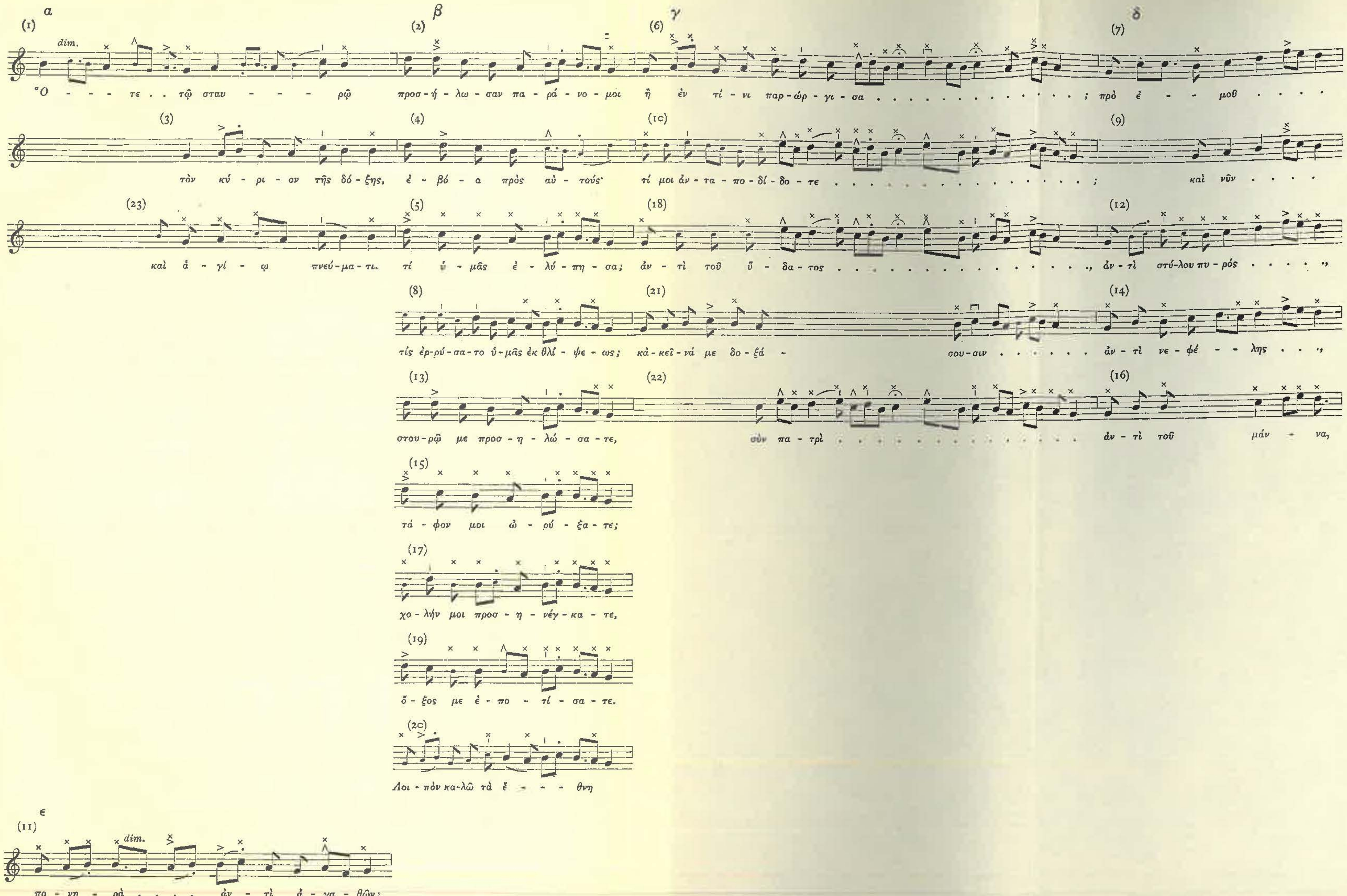

Ὅ - - - τε . . τῷ σταυ - - - ρῷ προσ-ή-λω-σαν πα-ρά-νο-μοι ἢ ἐν τί-νι παρ-ώρ-γι-σα . . . . ; πρὸ ἐ - - μοῦ . . . .
τὸν κύ-ρι-ον τῆς δό-ξης, ἐ-βό-α πρὸς αὐ-τούς· τί μοι ἀν-τα-πο-δί-δο-τε . . . . ; καὶ νῦν . . . .
καὶ ἁ-γί-ῳ πνεύ-μα-τι. τί ὑ-μᾶς ἐ-λύ-πη-σα; ἀν-τὶ τοῦ ὕ-δα-τος . . . ., ἀν-τὶ στύ-λου πυ-ρός . . . .,
τίς ἐρ-ρύ-σα-το ὑ-μᾶς ἐκ θλί-ψε-ως; κἀ-κεῖ-νά με δο-ξά - σου-σιν . . . . . . ἀν-τὶ νε-φέ - - λης . . .,
σταυ-ρῷ με προσ-η-λώ-σα-τε, σὺν πα-τρὶ . . . . ἀν-τὶ τοῦ μάν - να,
τά-φον μοι ὠ-ρύ-ξα-τε;
χο-λήν μοι προσ-η-νέγ-κα-τε,
ὄ-ξος με ἐ-πο-τί-σα-τε.
Λοι-πὸν κα-λῶ τὰ ἔ - - - θνη
πο-νη-ρὰ . . . . ἀν-τὶ ἀ-γα-θῶν;

PLATE XI

CHAPTER I

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE INFLUENCES IN MELODIES OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

It now remains to prove: (1) that the melody Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ is not a single isolated case; (2) that the cadences and formulae which can be found in this and other melodies of the same type are closely associated with those of Plainchant, especially of Ambrosian chant.

(1)

Let us begin with the first phrase which we find in a simple form in the Beneventan and Ravennatic versions, and compare it with melodies of the same mode, taken from both the Hirmologion and the Sticherarion, set to various texts.

We start with melodies of the second mode, ἦχος β′, from the Hirmologion, and we can ascertain at once that the initial phrase is one that frequently occurs as the opening of melodies of this mode. We find it in the same form, beginning on *b*, if the first syllable of the words of the hymn is accented, but if one or more syllables without an accent, or without a strong accent, precede the accented syllable, the melody starts on *g*, and takes up the typical phrase with the first strongly accented syllable.



CODEX IVIRON 4590
HIRMOS NO.

			Ὅ -	τε	τῷ	σταυ -	ρῷ	
		Ὀρ -	θρί -	ζο -	μεν	πρὸς	σὲ	267
ἐ -	με -	γα -	λύν -	θη	τῶν	πι -	στῶν	271
			Πά -	λιν	Ἰ -	η -	σοῦς	273
			Νέ -	ους	εὐ -	σε -	βεῖς	279
			Ὅ -	σοι	πα -	λαι -	ὧν	283
			Ὢ	τῶν	ὑ -	πὲρ	νοῦν	289
			Δεῦ -	( )	τε	λα -	οἱ	290
			Ἄ -	( )	βυσ -	σός	με	295
Λαμ -	πα -	δη -	φό -	ρος	τῇ	ψυ -	χῇ	297
Κα -	τα -	νο -	ὢν	τὸ	μυ -	στι -	κὸν	302
Τὸν	ἐν	σο -	φί -	ᾳ	κατ᾽	ἀρ -	χὰς	306
		Στε -	ρέ -	ω -	σον	ἡ -	μᾶς	309
	Ἐ -	με -	γά -	λυ -	νας	Χρι -	στὲ	317
Ἡ	τὸν	ἀ -	χώ -	ρι -	στον	θε -	ὸν	319
		Πα -	τέ -	ρα	καὶ	υἱ -	ὸν	349
Τὸν	ἐξ	ἀν -	άρ -	χου	τοῦ	πα -	τρὸς	375
	Βο -	η -	θὸς	καὶ	σκε -	πα -	στὴς	378
Τὸν	ἐν	φω -	ναῖς	ἀγ -	γε -	λι -	καῖς	393
			Τῶν	( )	γη -	γε -	νῶν	409
			Σὲ	τὴν	νο -	η -	τὴν	410
Τῷ	δι -	αρ -	ρή -	ξαν -	τι	θε -	ῷ	411



	CODEX IVIRON 4590 HIRMOS NO.
Ἐ - πὶ τὴν ἄ - βυσ - σον μο - λὼν	434
Οἱ οὐ - ρα - νοὶ τῶν οὐ - ρα - νῶν	435
Ὁ προ - φή - της Ἀβ - βα - κοὺμ	453
Ὁ στε - ρε - ώ - σας κατ' ἀρ - χὰς	469
Ὄρ - θρος φα - ει - νὸς	471
Καρ - πο - φό - ρον ὁ θε - ὸς	354

The second phrase of the melody, *προσήλωσαν παράνομοι*, is also to be found in many Hirmi of the second mode, sometimes with slight modifications. Here also it can be seen that the accents of the melody are closely connected with those of the text:



	CODEX IVIRON 4590 HIRMOS NO.
προσ - ή - λω - σαν πα - ρά - νο - μοι	
ὅ - λον με τὸν ἄν - θρω - πον	247
ἄλ - λον γὰρ ἐκ - τὸς σοῦ θε - (ὸν)	248
δρό - σον τὴν τοῦ πνεύ - μα - τος	250
καὶ ἡ - μᾶς τοῦ νο - η - τοῦ θη - (ρός)	326
ἐκ κα - μί - ( ) νου ῥυ - σά - με - νος	361
πᾶ - σαι με - γα - λύ - νω - μεν	365
ὁ προ - ( ) φή - ( ) της Κύ - ρι - ε	372
τρι - ( ) ( ) ά - δα ( ) τυ - πώ - σαν - τες	339
ἐν γα - ( ) στρὶ ( ) χω - ρή - σαν - τα	319
ἀ - βρό - χως θα - λατ - τί - αν ἀ - (νύ - σας)	254
κα - τα - ( ) πτύ - σαν - τες τρισ - όλ - βι - οι	260

The third melodic phrase of the hymn, *τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης*, is not so frequently found in the course of other melodies of the second echos, as it does not represent the main form of the phrase, but a slightly varied form of it.



	CODEX IVIRON 4590 HIRMOS NO.
τὸν Κύ - ρι - ον τῆς δό - ξης	
τὸν Κύ - ρι - ον ὑ - μνεῖ - τε	362
παρ - θέ - νον καὶ μη - τέ - ρα	364
ἐ - βό - ων πάν - ( ) τα	316
καρ - ποὺς με - τα - ( ) νοί - ας	452
δι - ὸ σὲ θε - ο - τό - κε	483
σα - λευ - θεῖ - σάν μου καρ - δί - αν	477
καὶ τὴν τα - λαι - πω - ρί - αν	464

More frequently than the formula  another occurs, with the accent on the first note of the phrase: 

(ἐ) - μὲ δο - ξά - (σουσιν)

The fourth phrase, *ἐβόα πρὸς αὐτούς*, and the fifth, *τί ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησα*, are variations of the second formula. Both versions, the Ravennatic and Beneventan, have parallels in Codex Iviron, either in a similar or in a modified form.

These examples may suffice; the analysis of the other phrases, which are variations or modifications of those already mentioned, would lead to the same results. We can close these investigations with a short analysis of Phrase 7 and Phrase 10, taken from the version of Vatopedi 1499:

Phrase 7: 

πρὸ ἐ - - - μοῦ

Phrase 10: 

ἀν - τὶ στύ - λου πυ - ρὸς

This expressive cadence occurs more frequently in melodies of the second echos in the following form:



	CODEX. IVIRON 4590 HIRMOS NO.
(σω - τη)- ρί - - α - - - - -	248
(πα - ρα - νο)- μοῦν - - τος - - - - -	250
- (στε) - ρά - - σου - - - - -	323
(ἀ - λη)- θεί - - α - - - - -	358
(ὑ - περ - υ)- ψοῦ - - τε - - - - -	375
(ἠ - γλα - ι)- σμέ - - νη - - - - -	433

The melodic formulae of *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ* are also to be found in melodies of the Sticherarion. Two of the Stichera of the Easter cycle have the same initial phrase:



Cod. Mod.

Ὅ - τε τῷ σταυ - ρῷ



Cod. Dalass., fol. 224 r.

Δό - ξα σοι Χρι - στὲ



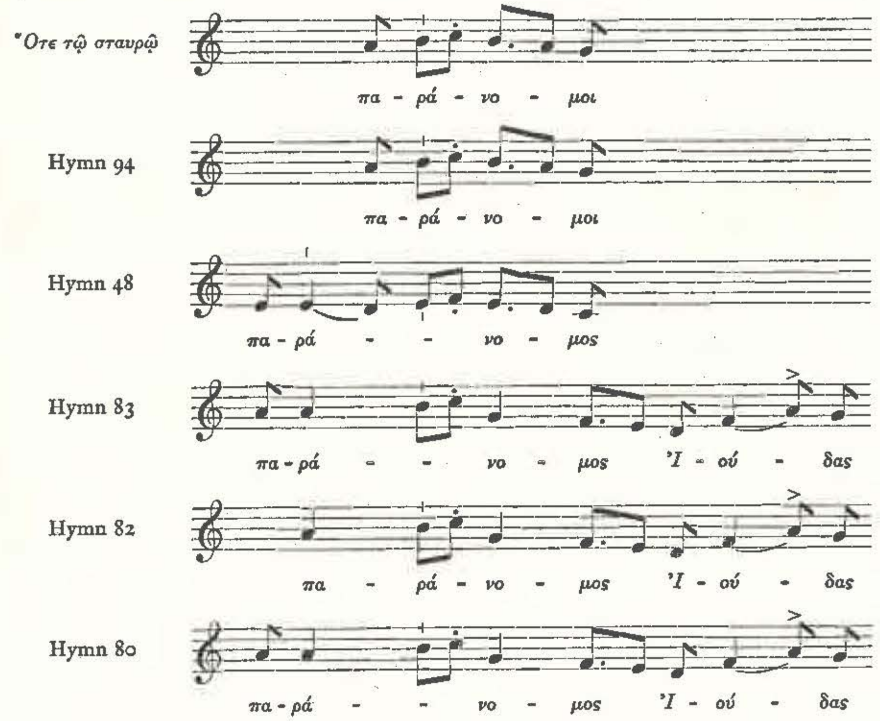
Cod. Dalass., fol. 234 r.

Ὃν ἐ - κή - ρυ - ξεν ἀ - μνὸν

In the hymn from which the third example is taken, we also find the second phrase of Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ slightly varied:



Two hymns contain the formulae of Phrases 7, πρὸ ἐμοῦ, and 10, ἀντὶ στύλου πυρός (Cod. Dal. fol. 234 r. and fol. 250 r.), and the extended melisma on ὕδατος and πατρί in M reappears in one of the Hymns of Lent (Cod. Dal. fol. 237 v.). Finally a rather rare usage of a melodic phrase with two modifications, always connected with the word παράνομος (Ἰούδας), or its plural παράνομοι, may be mentioned. The examples are taken from the 48th, 94th, 80th, 82nd, and 83rd Hymns of Lent.



There is no doubt that this melodic phrase in its peculiar rhythmical shape has been used by the composers of these hymns with the object of 'sound-painting'. We must lay stress on the qualification 'rhythmical shape', since the melodic line as such, either in its shorter form

ending on *g*, or in its prolonged one ending on *e*, has no special meaning; this is achieved only by the rhythmical moulding of the phrase. We may see in the process of adapting a melodic cadence to the words and meaning of a poetical phrase a part of the creative art of the musician, whom we must not expect to be an inventor of new melodies, but who works like a craftsman, with given formulae.

(2)

A general survey of Byzantine melodies, even in the richly developed form which has been handed down to us in manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, shows that a greater number of formulae and cadences than could be expected are closely connected with those of the Ambrosian and Roman use. A detailed account of the relation between these elements from which melodies were composed will only be possible when a larger number of Byzantine melodies have been published. But it can be stated from the collections of melodies already published that there are relations between the two groups of melodies of the Eastern and of the Western Church whose existence could only be guessed at as long as the Byzantine notation remained undecipherable.

A full report dealing with this subject must therefore be postponed and reserved for a later publication; only a few specimens can be given here, taken from melodies which I have published in Volume I of the series *Transcripta* of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, 'Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September' (1936), and from the melody of the hymn Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ which we are analysing from various points of view in the present study.

A characteristic feature of the Ambrosian chant is the use of the interval of a fourth, instead of the fifth which is frequent in the Roman chant. The same interval, the fourth, is also a notable feature in Byzantine melodies:



p. 21, l. 7



p. 29, l. 6



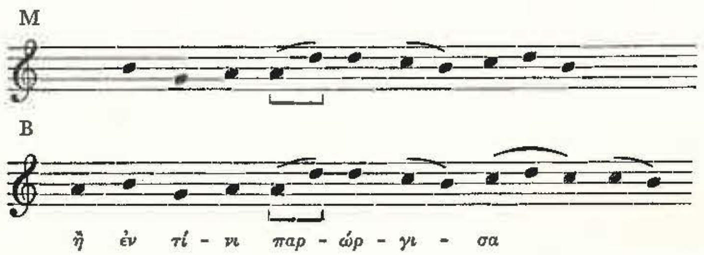
p. 49, l. 6



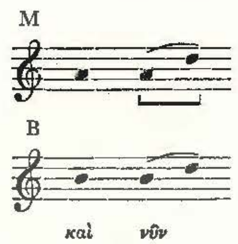
p. 63, l. 2



In Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ the interval of the fourth occurs four times in the Ravennatic and three times in the Beneventan version. In the first case



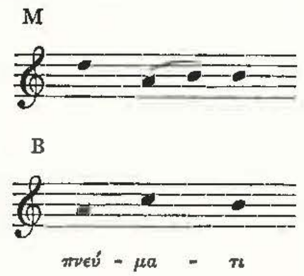
both versions, M and B, are nearly identical; in the second



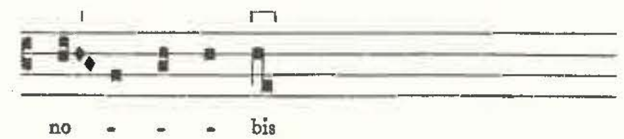
the Beneventan version has the interval of a third; in the third case a fifth



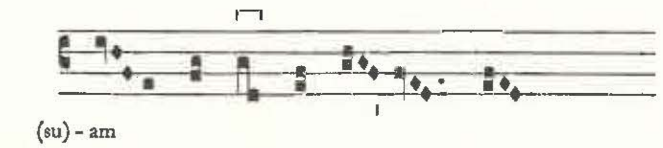
and in the last case both versions differ, and only the Ravennatic version shows the fourth:



These quotations could be multiplied by countless other examples and the same can be said of parallels in Ambrosian chant. A few phrases, containing the interval of the fourth as a characteristic step of the melody, taken from the *Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum Sanctae Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, edited by Dom G. Suñol, O.S.B., in 1935,[1] will be sufficient proof.



Antiphonale Ambrosianum 1935 p. 37, l. 6



p. 73, l. 1



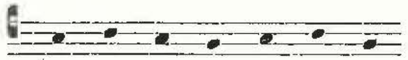
p. 73, l. 2–3



p. 76, l. 7

[1] The problem of the relations between Byzantine and Ambrosian melodies was the subject of frequent discussions between Dom G. Suñol, O.S.B., and myself in the years 1934–7. Dom Suñol, who was at that time preparing the edition of the Ambrosian *Antiphonale Missarum*, published in 1935, can be considered as the greatest authority on Ambrosian chant. He was kind enough to examine the Byzantine melodies which I published in *Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September* (1936), and to send me valuable notes, of which I have taken advantage in writing this chapter.

A formula which occurs frequently in Byzantine melodies, of which the line runs as follows



has two forms in Ambrosian chant:

(1) (2)



It will be noticed that the interval of the descending third is filled up in Ambrosian chant by steps. This tendency is a remarkable feature in melodies of the Western Church and very much in accord with its spirit. Byzantine music has a markedly dramatic character. Melody and words aim at a strong accentuation of expression. Gregorian chant, influenced by the smooth and flowing character of Latin prose, prefers a smooth and flowing line of melody in which intervals are filled up as much as possible by transgredient notes. Intervals, as for example a fourth, are only used to emphasize a particularly important word.

Another example is a short phrase, filling up the interval of a third, always occurring in the same rhythmical shape:



(see Hymns 3, 17, 18, 29, 49, 51, 72, 78, 102, 103, &c.). Corresponding formulae can be found in the Ambrosian Antiphonary, for example, on pages 7, 52, 62, 120, 128, 134, 136, 141, 255, 291, &c.

The combination of an ascending fourth, followed in the same direction by a third, is used in Byzantine melodies in different ways:

p. 7, l. 4



p. 8, l. 6



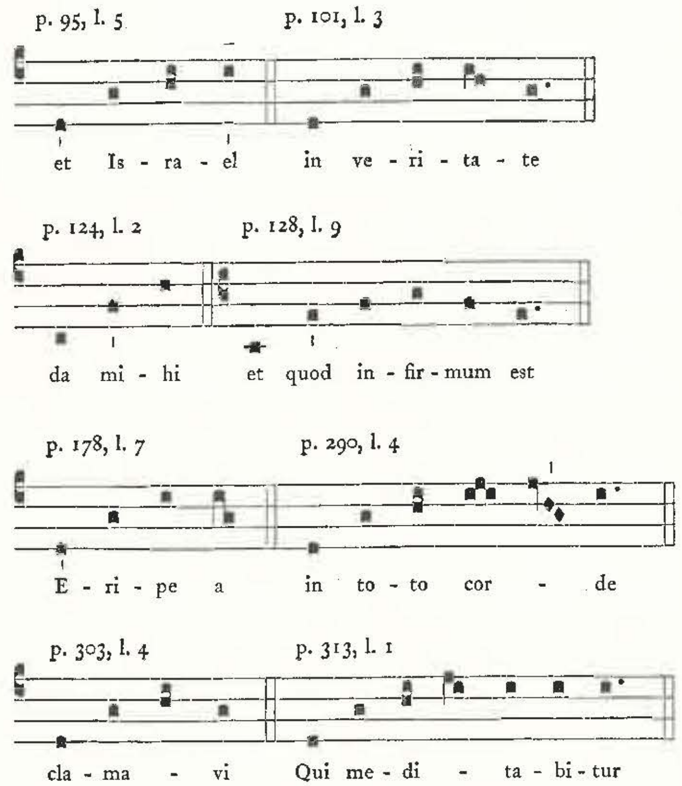
p. 13, l. 3



p. 30, l. 7



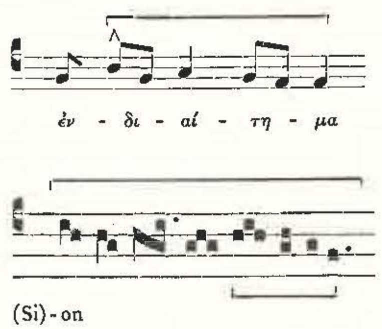
In Ambrosian melodies we find the fourth followed either by an ascending third or by two seconds, as in the third example of Byzantine melodies:



A few other formulae demonstrating parallels between Byzantine and Ambrosian melodic phrases may be given without further explanation: the Byzantine examples are taken from the Sticherarion (St.), the Ambrosian from the Antiphonary (Ant.). In order to facilitate comparison the Byzantine melodies are written on four lines in the C-clef:

St., p. 16, l. 8

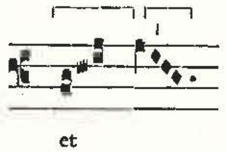
Ant., p. 28, l. 5



St., p. 56, l. 4



Ant., p. 182, l. 3



St., p. 71, l. 5



Ant., p. 46, l. 4



St., p. 79, l. 9



Ant., p. 81, l. 2



Let us now turn to the melody which is the central point of these investigations. For the first phrase an exact parallel can be found in the Benediction 'in honorem B.M.V.'

Ant., p. 643



at the end of the *Tonus orationis* of the Ambrosian Antiphonary (p. 617). The same melodic line is found in the Benedictine *Antiphonale Monasticum* as the first of the *Clausulae interrogativae* in the *Toni Communes* (p. 1234), and as *Tonus solemnis* for the *Supplicatio Litaniae* (p. 1236).

We can also draw a parallel with the *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison*, and the Responses *Miserere nobis* and *Ora pro nobis* in the *Litaniae Lauretanae B. Mariae V.* of the Dominican Order,[1] all based on the cadence:



This formula differs from that of the Roman and Ambrosian rite. As the constitutions of the Dominican Order are based on the statutes of the Premonstratensians,[2] and as it is known that the Plainchant of this Order was related to that of Lyons, we may assume that the Order of St. Dominic adopted the chant of the Church of Lyons, which was noted for its preservation of the old Gallican tradition. The Dominicans may, therefore, still be using the old Gallican formula, introduced from Constantinople via Burgundy at a very early date, or directly from Rome in the second half of the eighth century as the 'Galba litany'.[3]

Parallels to the second phrase of the Ravennatic and Beneventan versions are also to be found in the Ambrosian Antiphonary:

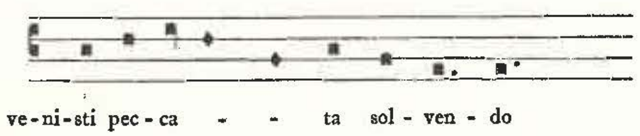
B



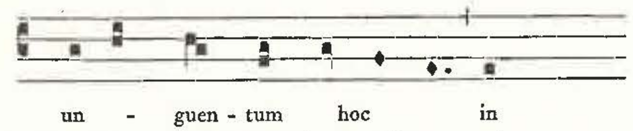
M



Ant., p. 81, l. 5



Ant., p. 164, l. 4

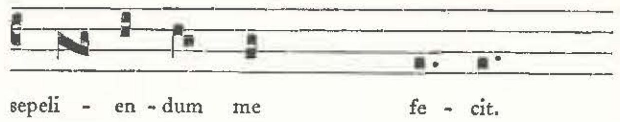


[1] *Processionarium juxta ritum Sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1930), pp. 92 seqq. The modern editions are based on the *Correctorium Fr. Humberti de Romans* (1255), now in Rome, containing the whole Office used by the Order in fourteen volumes.

[2] H. Denifle, 'Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* i (1885), p. 172.

[3] For the introduction of Greek litanies into western Europe see Chapter VII, 'The Litany of Saints in the Stowe Missal', in E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 137 seqq.; for the earliest examples of a litany of saints on the Continent, ibid., p. 149.

Ant., p. 164, l. 5

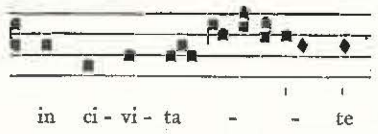


The fourth and the sixth phrases have already been analysed, as they contain the characteristic interval of a fourth, but a remarkable similarity between Phrase 6 in the Ravennatic version and an Ambrosian *Post Evangelium* on Christmas Day may be cited:

M



Ant., p. 44, l. 3

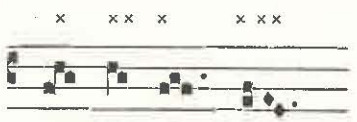


The following phrases are, more or less, variations of those already analysed; we can therefore pass on to the cadence of Phrase 9, repeated in 15 (B), 17, and 21. Here, at first glance, the similarity does not seem so striking as in the examples quoted above. But a study of the phrases shows that the main notes, marked by ×, are identical, and the others can be regarded as embellishments of the simple melodic line:

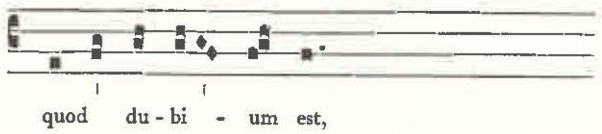
B



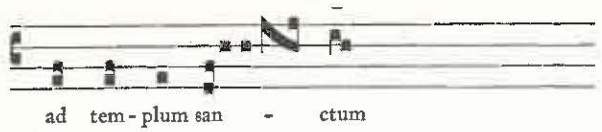
Ant., p. 52, l. 8



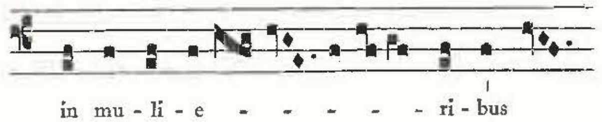
Phrase 19, again, is constructed on very clear and simple lines. The version of Codex Modena is evidently the Byzantine model for the more elaborate form of the Vatopedi Codex; the Beneventan melody has here and in Phrase 18 a larger range. The basic notes are *g–a–c′–b*. The repetition of *g–a* has here no thematic significance, though repetitions of this kind are not rare in Ambrosian and Roman chant, e.g.:



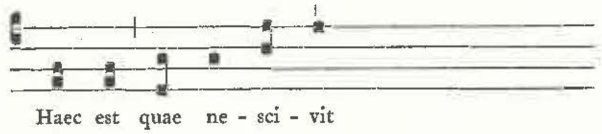
Ant. Ambros., p. 129, l. 1



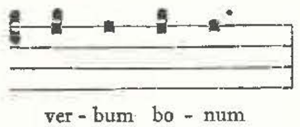
Liber usualis, p. 1079, l. 8



Liber usualis, p. 1094, l. 3

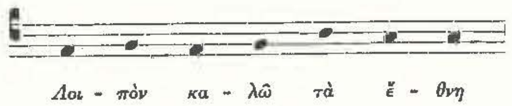


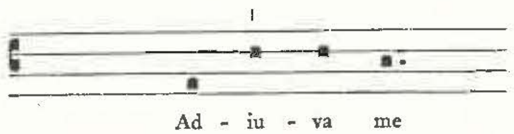
Liber usualis, p. 1039, l. 2



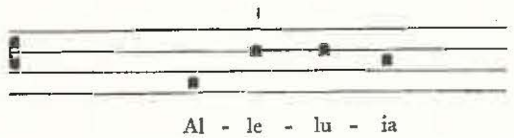
Liber usualis, p. 1053, l. 5

The cadence corresponds, in the simplified form, to several formulae used with the word 'Alleluia'; the examples are taken from the *Antiphonale Monasticum*:

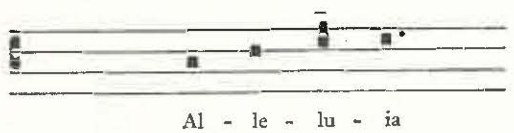




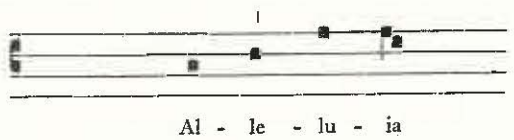
Ant. Mon., p. 94



Ant. Mon., p. 95



Ant. Mon., p. 127



Ant. Mon., p. 143

The inquiries made in the course of this chapter have shown that the Ravennatic version of *῞Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ* in fact represents a version more closely connected with the Byzantine original than with the Beneventan version. It could also be proved that the phrases of which the Ravennatic melody is composed can be found in a great number of Ambrosian chants. This seems to be a new and valuable verification of the thesis, formulated by P. Wagner, J. Thibaut, and the editors of the *Paléographie musicale*,[1] that the Ambrosian melodies represent the oldest form of Plainchant, as they have not undergone the process of artistic transformation made or ordered by Pope Gregory the Great and his successors. But the transformations did not affect what I should like to call, in the Platonic sense, the *idea* of the melodic phrases, and we learn from the comparison of Byzantine melodies on one side, and Ambrosian and Gregorian on the other, that a great number of the formulae and cadences of which both are built up are identical, or, if identity cannot be proved, through lack of manuscripts of an earlier date than the end of the ninth century or from the fact that Byzantine notation of an earlier date than the twelfth century cannot be deciphered, the analysis of these formulae and cadences still makes it evident that they are closely related and that they must derive from a common source. The results of comparative liturgiology show this to have been the Church of Jerusalem.

[1] P. Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, vol. i (1921) and vol. iii (1921); J. Thibaut, *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'église latine* (Paris, 1907); *Paléographie musicale*, vols. v and vi.

CHAPTER II

THE TRACTUS

(I)

In considering the affinity between the structural elements of Byzantine and Plainchant melodies in the last chapter, the examples to be examined were chosen without singling out any special group of Gregorian melodies. These inquiries would be incomplete if an exception to this method were not made in two particular cases. The first is a group of chants of the Mass, sung on days of mourning and atonement, and on Ember Saturdays, viz. the Tracts;[1] the second the *Hodie* antiphons. This second group will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The Tract occurs between the lessons, and is also sung after the Gradual instead of the Alleluia,[2] the text of the Tracts being taken from the books of the Psalms. The Tractus, *Qui habitat in adiutorio* of the First Sunday of Lent is sung to the words of Psalm xc; it is the only chant of the Mass which has preserved a psalm in its complete form. Another Tractus, *Deus, deus meus respice*, of Palm Sunday, comprised the larger part of Psalm xxi; all the other Tracts comprise only three, two, or one verse of a Psalm. But there can be no doubt that originally they also were sung to the words of the whole Psalm.

We can accept without reservation the hypothesis of P. Wagner[3] that the Tracts represent the last remnants of Psalms originally sung between the lessons by a soloist; we are also inclined to accept his view that the melodies of the Tracts belong to the oldest and most venerable documents of the Latin Church, originating, together with

[1] The significance of the word 'Tractus' has long been doubtful; it was thought that Tractus meant a kind of protracted chant expressing mourning and atonement. But nowadays the view has been accepted that Tractus means a 'melody' which is sung *tractim*, without a break, without interruption by antiphonal or responsal additions. This explanation is based on the definition of Amalar, *De officiis*, iii. 12 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cv. 1121): 'Hoc differt inter responsorium, cui chorus respondet, et tractum, cui nemo.' P. Wagner, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen*, iii. 99, rightly points out that most of the Tracts were originally Gradual Responses and that there is still one Tract, *Laudate Dominum*, which has no character of mourning.

[2] *Ordo Romanus Primus de Missa Papali*: 'Subdiaconus qui lecturus est, mox ut viderit post pontificem episcopos et presbyteros residentes, ascendit in ambonem et legit. Postquam legerit, cantor cum cantatorio ascendit et dicit Responsorium. Si fuerit tempus, ut dicatur Alleluia, bene; sin autem Tractus; si minus, tantummodo responsorium gradale.' Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. lxviii, c. 942. I quote the text conforming to the revised edition by R. Stapper, *Opuscula et textus Ser. Liturg.*, fasc. 1 (Münster, 1933).

Only on Holy Saturday, owing to the special character of the feast, is the Tractus followed by the Alleluia.

[3] *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturg. Gesangsformen*, *Einführung in die gregor. Melodien*, i. 100.

those of the Gradual and the Alleluia, in a liturgical rite which can be traced back directly to the usage of the Jewish Synagogue.[1] P. Wagner also points out that the melodies of the Tracts show Greek influence. He refers to the fact that the formal type of the Tracts is closely connected with that of Byzantine hymns, consisting of several strophes, all composed on the model of a Melody-Type, the Hirmos (εἱρμός). In a similar way, all Tracts are written either in the second or eighth mode, using the same or nearly the same melody;[2] this restriction does not exist in other groups of Gregorian melodies.

Let us now consider the data which interest us from the musicological point of view, and which may be supported by investigations based on the methods by which we have tried to solve the problem of the bilingual antiphon of the *Adoratio crucis*. We can sum up our views briefly, as the premises of our inquiries have already been made quite clear by the preceding investigations. We cannot expect to find exact parallels to the melodies of the Tracts in Byzantine hymns, as we know that melodies did not remain in their primary form in the East or the West. But we know from the foregoing examinations that they consisted of short formulae, which were connected together in a very elaborate way. Though these formulae and cadences also underwent development, because the ecclesiastical composers tried to enrich the hymns by altering, varying, and embellishing the musical phrases, by putting new words to them, and by expanding them, yet it remains possible to trace the original structure, and we can recognize the original form. It will therefore be our task to analyse the melodies of the Tracts and to find out whether their formulae and cadences correspond to those occurring in Byzantine melodies.

We have already mentioned, in the chapter dealing with the liturgical significance of bilingual singing,[3] a passage in the first *Ordo Romanus* in which a description is given of the Office on Holy Saturday, particularly of the reading of the Prophecies, and of the procession of the Clergy towards the Baptistry for the blessing of the font. From this description we learned that during this ceremony a number of lessons were read and psalms sung, first in Greek and then in Latin. The four Prophecies[4] to which reference is made:

1. 'In the beginning God created heaven and earth.' Genesis i–ii. 2.
2. 'The morning watch was come.' Exodus xiv. 24–31, xv. 1.
3. 'Seven women shall take hold.' Isaiah iv. 1–6.
4. 'Moses wrote the canticle.' Deuteronomy xxxi. 22–30.

[1] *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, ibid. iii. 352. [2] *Ursprung und Entwicklung*, p. 99.

[3] See Part I, Chapter IV, p. 59.

[4] In vol. xiv of the *Pal. mus.*, pp. 337–446, the editors give a full analysis of the ceremonies on Holy Saturday according to the Beneventan rite. Here also reference is made to the development of the lessons of that day, pp. 339–75.

were recited first in Greek and afterwards by another lector in Latin. The same manner of recitation was prescribed for the three chants:

1. 'Let us sing to the Lord.' Exodus xv.
2. 'The beloved had a vineyard.' Isaiah v.
3. 'As the hart panteth.' Psalm xli.

The only remnant of this bilingual tradition in the present-day usage of the Roman Church can be seen in the ceremony of the Blessing of the Font on Holy Saturday, where the priest, having dipped the Paschal Candle three times into the font, each time more deeply, breathes thrice upon the water, forming the Greek letter *Ψ*, the initial of the word ψυχή ('spirit'), while he says: *Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus Sancti.*

(2)

Three chants are mentioned in the *Ordo*: for the first two the name *canticlum* is used, for the third the term *psalmus*. The first, *Cantemus Domino*, is in fact one of the canticles, the song of victory of Moses from Exodus xv, which in the Greek version, Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται, is the text of the first Ode, and the model of innumerable hymns composed after its pattern. The words of the second canticle, *Vinea facta est*, are taken from Isaiah. The text of the canticle forms part of Psalm xli.

The melodies of these three chants represent a type of developed psalmody for which even in the early period of Plainchant the name *Tractus* was used, and they all belong to one of the two types, to the group of melodies of the second or eighth mode. The affinity of the Tracts, in each of the two modes in which they occur, is of such striking character that we are led to assume that all the chants of Mode II, or of Mode VIII, were composed on the same melodic material, built up into a very limited number of types. Divergencies from these models occur only where they have been made necessary by the different length of the phrases of the text, or by the words and construction of the phrases.

This habit of setting a series of texts to a single melody is rare in Western music, but we find that this kind of composition is the norm in Byzantine music. Here the *Melodi* are bound to observe a given scheme by dogmatic prescriptions governing not only religious life, but also poetry and music in the service of the Church.

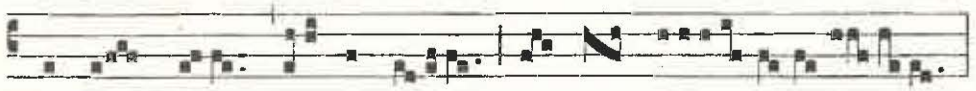
To illustrate these observations by musical examples some initial phrases of Tracts in the Gregorian version may be given. The first, second, and fourth are taken from Tracts already mentioned by the first *Ordo Romanus*. The first five examples belong to the group of Tracts sung during the *Vigilia Paschae* before the Mass of Holy

Saturday; the rest are taken from the Mass for the Dead (6), from the second Mass of a Martyr-Bishop (7), and from Septuagesima Sunday (8).

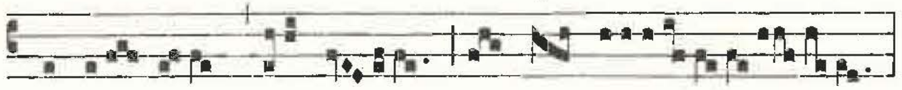
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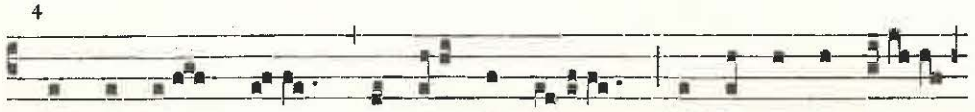
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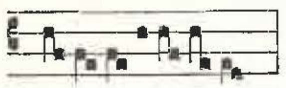


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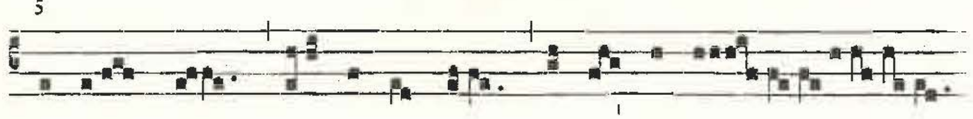


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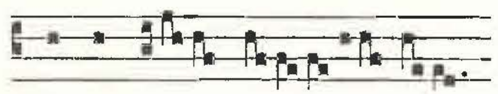


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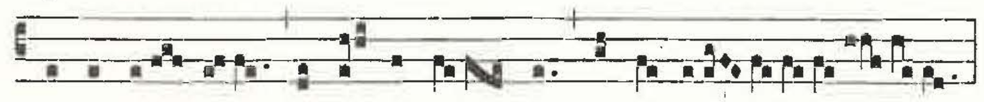




7



8



This table shows clearly that the initial phrases of all these eight melodies are constructed on two musical phrases. The first part of the first phrase is identical in all the examples, the second shows only slight divergencies, owing to the accent:

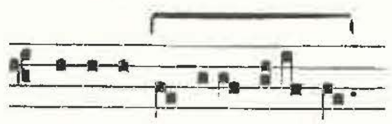
Dómino	Dóminum
fácta est	Dómine
cáelum	quí tímet
de-síderat	cla-mávi

The second phrase has the same fully developed cadence in all the examples. The initial phrase shows two different types, the first in 1, 4, and 6, the second in 2, 3, 5, 7, and 8, but in both types the tenor is on *c*, except in 8, where the melody immediately falls to *g*, and ends with a shorter cadence than do the other examples. In the *Missa pro defunctis* the tenor on *c* shows the longest development; this phrase is in fact nothing more than a simple recitative ending with the fully developed cadence.

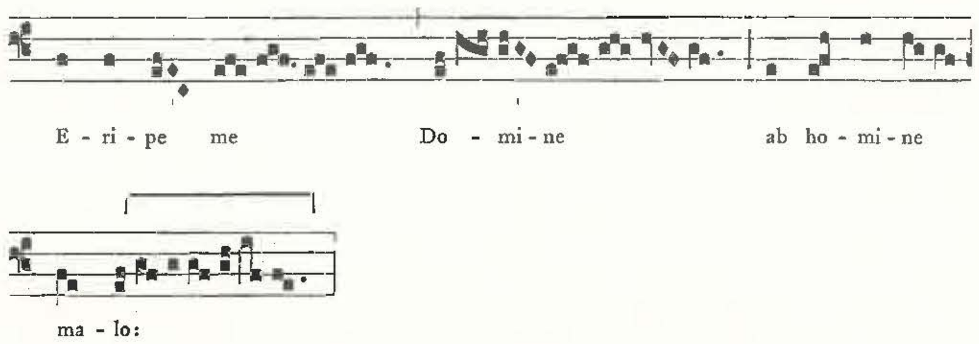
We shall obtain the same result by comparing some initial phrases of Tracts of the second mode. The first and second examples are taken from the *Missa Praesanctificatorum* of Good Friday, the third from the Mass of a Virgin not a Martyr, the fourth from the Votive Mass of the Holy Angels, the fifth from the Mass of the First Sunday of Lent, and the sixth from the Mass in Time of Any Need.

1





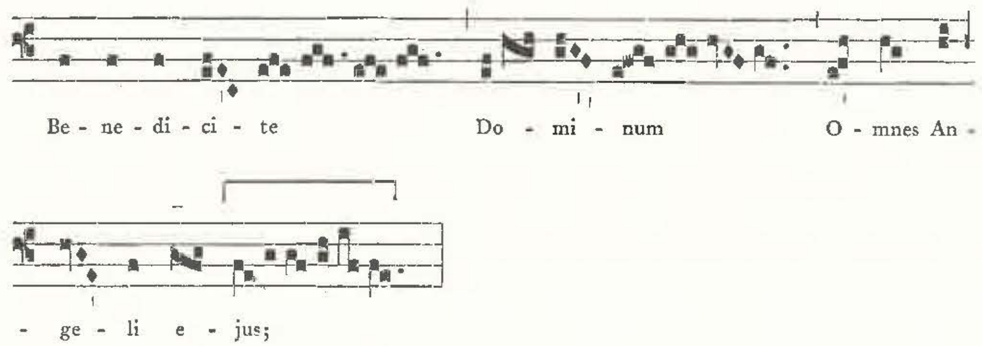
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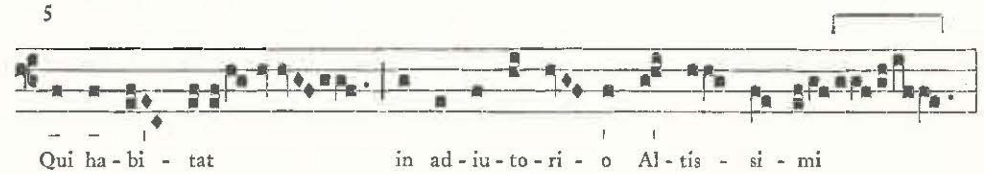
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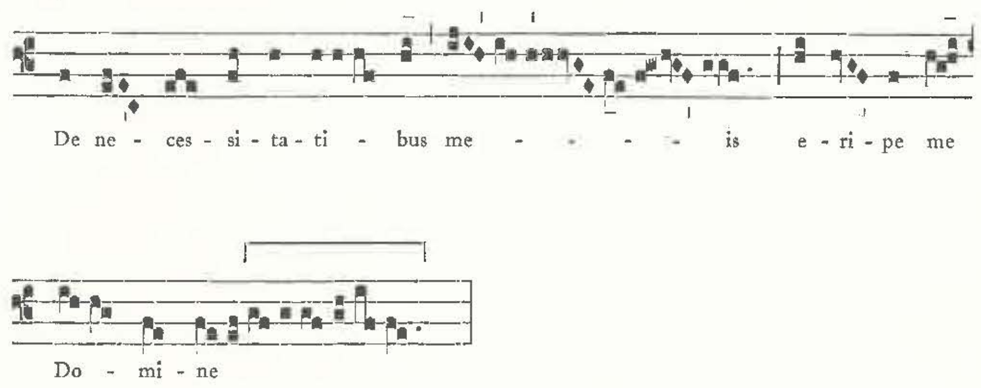
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5



6



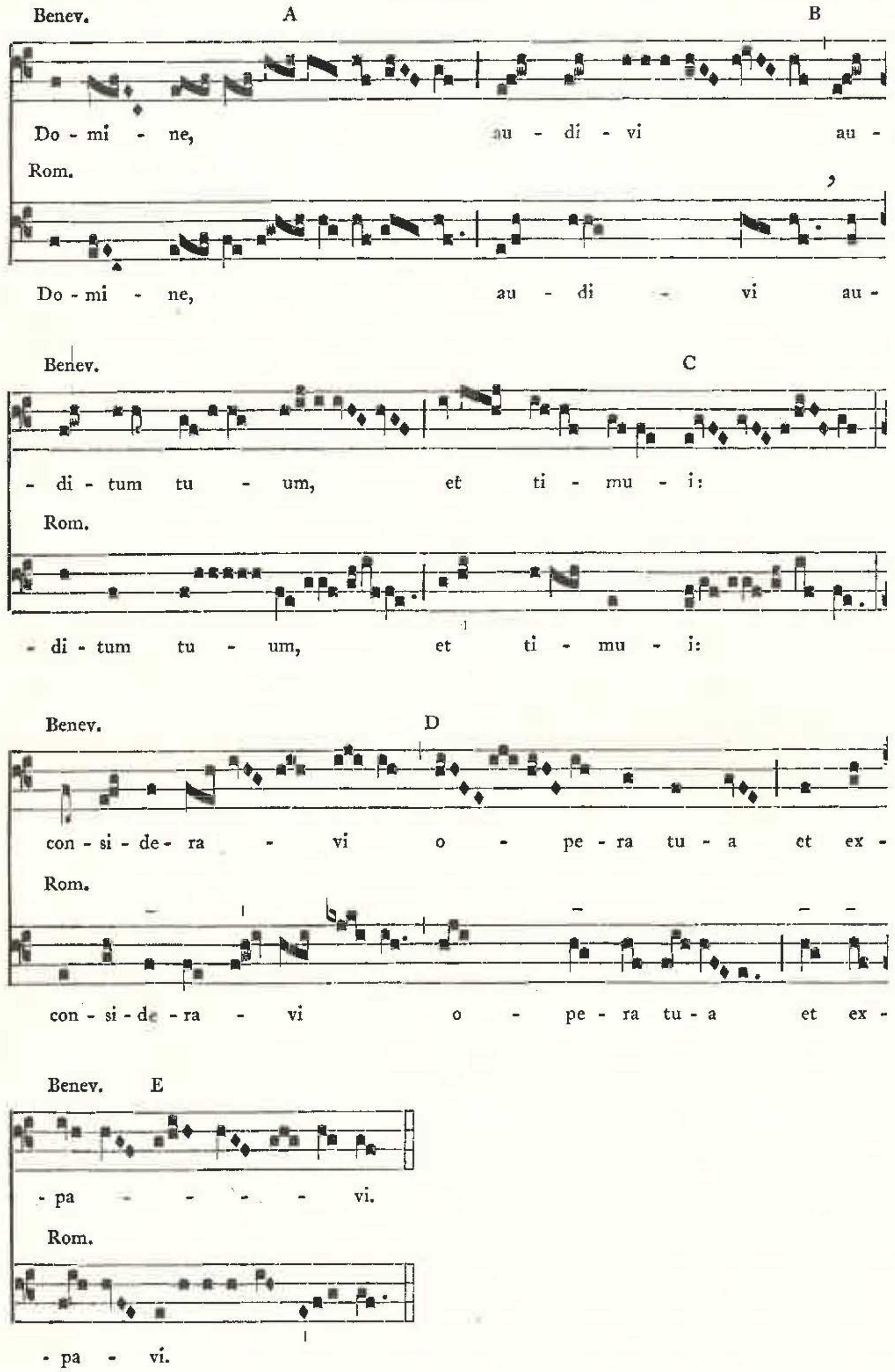
A complete identity can be established only in the initial and final cadences of the phrases; but though the middle part of the melody is treated with greater freedom, it will be seen that the cadences connected with *Domin*E (2), *vid*E (3), *Domi*NUM (4), *habi*TAT (5), *me*IS (6) are nearly identical, and that the cadence connected with *Domi*NE (1) is only a variation of the typical formula. The same can be said of the initial cadence of the second phrase, adapted to the words *audivi* (1), *ab homine* (2), *et inclina* (3), *Omnes* (4), *in adiutorio* (5), (*eripe me*) *Domine* (6).

(3)

Yet after all, if there is an earlier source for Plainchant than the Roman version, we should not consult the latter exclusively. In Rome we find a tendency, vigorous in every domain of Liturgy, to adapt all borrowings from the East to the Western spirit. The same spirit can be found in the musicians who aimed at a continual remodelling by which all the parts of the melodies were at first co-ordinated and then, in order to create a new architecture, in great but simple lines, melodic detail subordinated to the whole. Luckily such sources are available and they will have to be used exclusively in further investigations. Here it may suffice to confine ourselves to an example of Benevantan tradition,[1] to the Tract *Domine audivi*, and to compare the *incipit* phrases of the melody in the Beneventan and in the Roman version.[2]

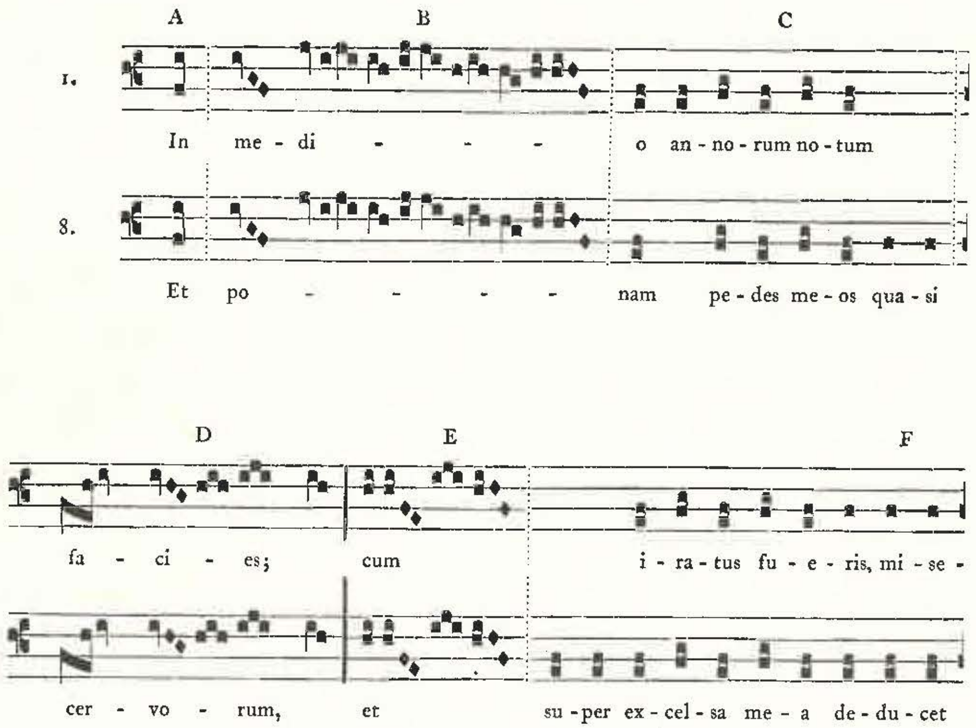
[1] Cod. VI. 38 and VI. 40, Bibl. Capit., Benevento.

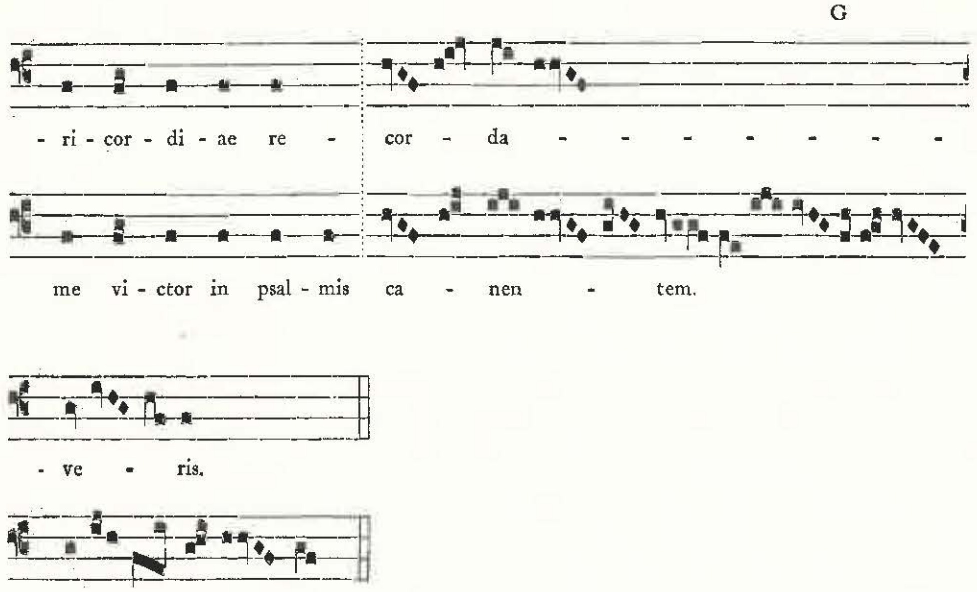
[2] The Beneventan melody is given in modern Plainchant notation on pp. 362 and 363 of the *Pal. mus.*, vol. xiv; the Gregorian version of the Tract on pp. 612 and 613 of the *Liber Usualis*.



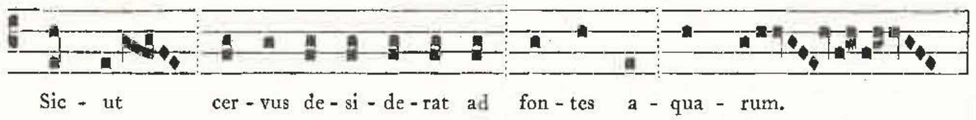
The first phrase (A) is identical in both versions, but the middle part of the Beneventan version is more elaborate; the same may be said of the second part. In the third phrase (C) again, the inception of the Beneventan version shows a richer development; the cadences are again identical. In the two final phrases (D and E) the divergencies are more obvious, but not greater than occur in many Byzantine hymns.

From the end of the *Incipit* phrase the difference between the two versions begins: the divergencies of the wording make it clear that the texts go back to a Greek or even Hebrew original, which has been rendered into Latin in two different versions. Not only do the melodic phrases of the Roman chant differ from the Beneventan, but also each versicle of the Roman chant varies from all the others, whereas the Beneventan versicles show a remarkable similarity in all the eight phrases of which the Tract consists. This can be seen from a table giving a synopsis of the eight versicles of the Tract, on pp. 362 and 363 of the fourteenth volume of the *Paléographie musicale*. It will not, therefore, be necessary to reproduce here the whole Tract in the Beneventan version, and it may suffice to show the similarity of the first and the eighth verse, with its extended final cadence.

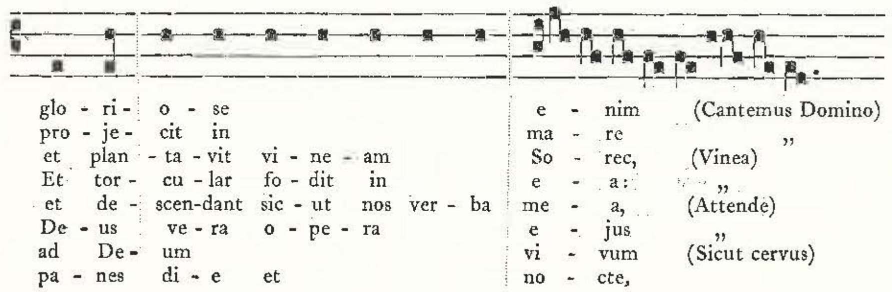




The origin of this group of chants in the Psalmody can be clearly seen from Phrases C and F; here the style of a recitative is still apparent, though slightly veiled. In *Sicut cervus* in the Beneventan version, all four versicles have preserved the simplest structure of Psalmody: *Initium—Tenor—Finalis.*



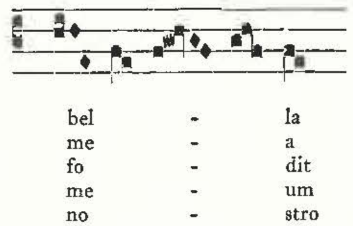
This kind of psalmodic style is not restricted to the Beneventan group; it is also to be found throughout the Roman version, where the three constituent elements are as much in evidence as in the Beneventan, and in an even simpler form:



(4)

We have now to answer the question of whether the formulae and cadences of the Tracts show any relationship to those of Byzantine melodies. In order to arrive at a satisfying answer, it will be necessary to proceed by the method of investigation followed in the preceding chapters.

A characteristic cadence in Tracts of the Roman version in Mode VIII is the following:[1]



The same cadence is a characteristic feature of Byzantine hymns in the fourth mode from the Sticherarion, as can be seen by consulting the two volumes of the *Transcripta.*[2]

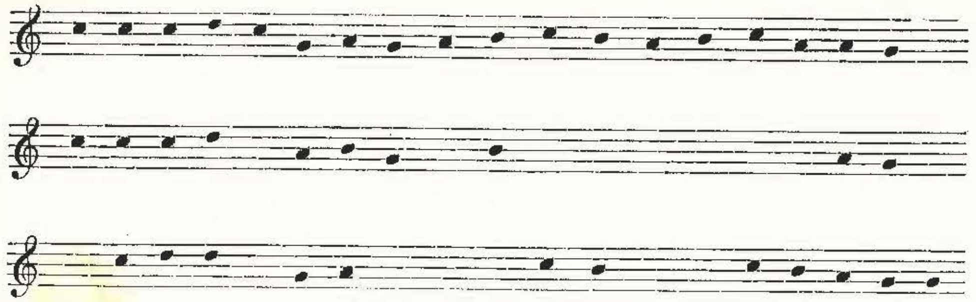
I quote only a few examples from Tillyard's publications and my own, representing three slightly varying forms of the cadence.



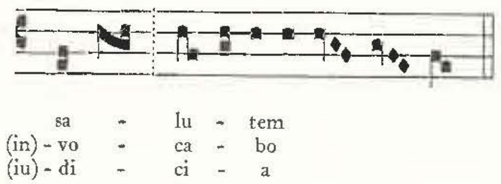
For the purpose of comparison, the Roman form of the cadence (1) and two Byzantine types (2 and 3) are put together in a table, and the notes are given without their rhythmical significance, so as to afford a better survey.

[1] See P. Ferretti, *Estetica Gregoriana*, i, p. 144.

[2] Vol. i, published by the author in 1936; vol. ii by H. J. W. Tillyard (1938), in the *M.M.B.*



Another characteristic final cadence of Tracts in the eighth mode starts on *g*, ascends to *c'*, drops down to *a*, rises again to *c'*, and gradually descends to *g*. The essential tones of this cadence are: *g-c'-a-c'-b-a-g*;

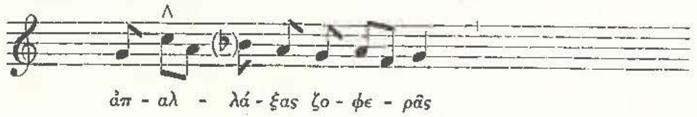


The soft line of this cadence, the filling-in of intervals with steps, is a feature of Gregorian technique and opposed to the Byzantine. But the cadence itself occurs frequently in Byzantine melodies of the fourth and eighth modes:

Transcripta II 133



II 104



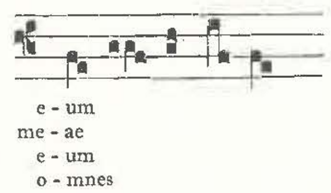
II 105

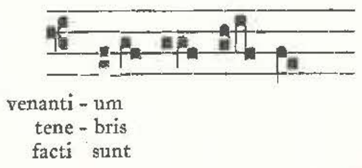


Cod. Dalass. 235 v.



Tracts of the second mode usually have the following cadence in two variants:[1]





This cadence occurs very frequently in Byzantine hymns of the first, and first plagal, modes, the latter corresponding to the second mode in Plainchant. In comparing the two cadences we must again consider that the Gregorian cadence had been influenced by the spirit of Medieval Latin and by the tendency of the Roman Church to eliminate the dramatic elements of Eastern musical expression. I take the examples from unpublished transcriptions from Codex Dalassenos of the Hymns of Lent:

Dal. f. 228 r.



f. 228 v.

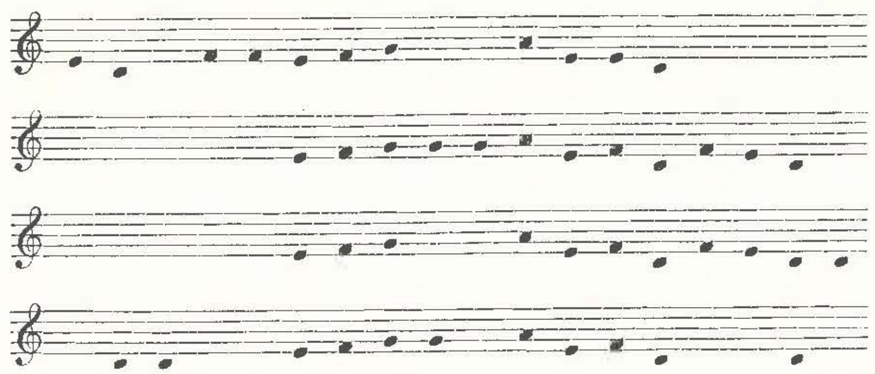


f. 231 r.



A table, showing the melodic line of the Gregorian cadence in comparison with the Byzantine formulae, will show the close relationship between the two groups of Eastern and Western melodies:

Greg.
Byz. 1
2
3



[1] See P. Ferretti, *Estetica Greg.*, p. 150.

We need not go further in our analysis. We have been able to demonstrate that the cadences of the Gregorian and Byzantine melodies are closely connected. The question as to whether the Tracts derived from Byzantine sources directly, or whether we must assume a common Semitic source, from which Tracts as well as their Byzantine equivalents—for example, the first Ode *Ἄσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ*—were derived, cannot be answered authoritatively until the different forms of the Tracts in all branches of Plainchant have been examined and a history of the Tracts has been written. But it can already be said that the relationship between the melodic phrases of the Tracts and Byzantine hymns gives considerable support to the thesis of P. Wagner that the source of both groups 'can be none other than the Solo-Psalmody of the Jewish Synagogue'.[1]

Parallels between Gregorian Recitation of Psalms and Jewish Cantillation have already been discovered.[2] It remains an important task for comparative musicology to show parallels between Gregorian and Jewish Psalmody on the one hand and Byzantine and Jewish Psalmody on the other, in order to achieve solid foundations for studies in Early Christian and Early Medieval music.

To sum up the results of the inquiry carried out in this chapter:

(1) Close relationship exists between the form of Byzantine Odes and Tracts, both from the textual and the musical point of view.

(2) Recent researches in comparative liturgiology make it evident that the Odes, as well as the Psalms, can be traced back to a common source, to the Jewish Solo-Psalmody of the Synagogue, which had afterwards been introduced into the services of the earliest Christians, where it was placed between the Lessons.

(3) In all probability the melodies of this very ancient form of melismatically embellished Psalmody are preserved in the Tracts.

(4) As the melodic formulae and cadences of the Tracts show a close relationship with those of Byzantine hymns, it can be assumed that both had their origin in the chants of the Synagogue.

[1] *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, p. 367.

[2] Ch. Z. Idelsohn, 'Parallelen zwischen gregorianischen und hebräisch-orientalischen Gesangsweisen', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, iv (1921–2), pp. 515 seqq.

CHAPTER III

EASTERN ORIGIN OF THE *HODIE* ANTIPHONS

(1)

In the light of the facts thus ascertained, we may conclude that the melodies of the other bilingual antiphons of the Beneventan Use sung during the *Adoratio Crucis* on Good Friday, mentioned in Chapter II, must also be of Eastern origin, though we cannot support this argument with the aid of Byzantine manuscripts, as in the case of *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ*.

The same may be said with regard to the short antiphon *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις—Gloria in excelsis*, sung on Holy Saturday, when the procession returns after the Blessing of the Font. This antiphon, transmitted in the Beneventan Graduals VI. 38 and VI. 40 and in a fragment from Farfa, reads, according to its transcription on page 433 of the *Paléographie musicale*, vol. xiv, as follows:



Another group of melodies must also be mentioned here: the *Σήμερον—Hodie* chants of the Nativity, Easter, and Pentecost. They are not transmitted in bilingual texts, but they belong to a species of texts, closely connected in subject and form, which can be traced

back to the same origin as the antiphons sung during the *Adoratio Crucis*, to the Church of Jerusalem. Since a minute investigation has been made of *O quando in cruce*, it seems superfluous to pursue the examination of this group of chants in the same detail. It may suffice to outline the main facts and to leave a detailed inquiry for another occasion.

The Roman *Liber usualis Missae et Officii* contains the following *Hodie* chants:

In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini

Antiphona ad Tertiam: Hodie scietis, quia veniet Dominus: et mane videbitis gloriam ejus. Euouae.

Respons. br.: Hodie scietis quia veniet Dominus. Hodie. Et mane videbitis gloriam ejus. Qui. Gloria Patri, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. Hodie.

Introitus ad Missam: Hodie scietis, quia veniet Dominus, et salvabit nos: et mane videbitis gloriam ejus. *Ps.* Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus: orbis terrarum, et universi qui habitant in eo. Gloria Patri. Euouae.

Graduale: Hodie scietis, quia veniet Dominus, et salvabit nos: et mane videbitis gloriam ejus. ℣. Qui regis Israel, intende: qui deducis velut ovem Joseph: qui sedes super Cherubim, appare coram Ephraim, Benjamin et Manasse.

In Nativitate Domini

Ad Matutinam: Hodie, si vocem ejus audieritis, nolite obdurare corda vestra, sicut in exacerbatione secundum diem tentationis in deserto: ubi tentaverunt me patres vestri, probaverunt et viderunt opera mea.

In I. Nocturno, Respons.: Hodie nobis caelorum Rex de virgine nasci dignatus est, ut hominem perditum ad caelestia regna revocaret: Gaudet exercitus Angelorum: quia salus aeterna humano generi apparuit. ℣. Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Gaudet. ℣. Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

Respons. 2. Hodie nobis de caelis pax vera descendit: Hodie per totum mundum melliflui facti sunt caeli. Hodie illuxit nobis dies redemptionis novae, reparationis antiquae, felicitatis aeternae. Hodie.

In II. Vesperis: *Ad Magnif. Ant. 1*: Hodie Christus natus est: hodie Salvator apparuit: hodie in terra canunt Angeli, laetantur Archangeli: hodie exsultant justi, dicentes: Gloria in excelsis Deo, alleluia. Euouae.

In Epiphania Domini

Ad Laudes.

Ad Benedict. Ant.: Hodie caelesti sponso juncta est Ecclesia, quoniam in Jordano lavit Christus ejus crimina: currunt cum muneribus Magi ad regales nuptias, et ex aqua facto vino laetantur convivae, alleluia. Euouae.

In Festo Pentecostes

In II. Vesperis. Ad Magnif. Ant.: Hodie completi sunt dies Pentecostes, alleluia: hodie Spiritus Sanctus in igne discipulis apparuit, et tribuit eis charismatum dona: misit eos in universum mundum praedicare et testificari: qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit, alleluia. Euouae.

In Conceptione Immaculatae B.M.V. (December 8)

In II. Vesperis. Ad. Magnif. Ant.: Hodie egressa est virga de radice Jesse: hodie sine ulla peccati labe concepta est Maria: hodie contritum est ab ea caput serpentis antiqui, alleluia. Euouae.

In purificatione B.M.V. (February 2)

In II. Vesperis. Ad Magnif. Ant.: Hodie beata Virgo Maria puerum Jesum praesentavit in templo: et Simeon repletus spiritu Sancto, accepit eum in ulnas suas, et benedixit Deum in aeternum. Euouae.

Apparatio B.M.V. Immaculatae (February 11)

In II. Vesperis. Ad Magnif. Ant.: Hodie gloriosa caeli Regina in terris apparuit: hodie populo suo verba et pignora pacis attulit: hodie Angelorum et fidelium chori, Immaculatam Conceptionem celebrantes gaudio exsultant, Alleluia. Euouae.

Ant. Hodie nomen tuum ita magnificavit Dominus, ut non recedat laus tua de ore hominum. Euouae.

In Assumptione B.M.V. (August 15)

In II. Vesperis. Ad Magnif. Ant.: Hodie Maria Virgo caelos ascendit: gaudete, quia cum Christo regnat in aeternum. Euouae.

To this relatively small number of *Hodie* chants correspond fifty-eight *Σήμερον* melodies in the Sticherarion, of which four are sung on the Vigil and the Day of Nativity, four on the Epiphany, one on Wednesday in Holy Week, three on Maundy Thursday, nine on Good Friday, four on Holy Saturday, and the rest on various other festival days.

Among these *Σήμερον* hymns is undoubtedly an old stratum comprising the songs on the Nativity and the Triduum Sacrum in Holy Week, and a later one to which belong all the chants modelled on the ancient hymns. The same would hold with regard to the *Hodie* Antiphons of the Western Church.

The liturgical and poetical background of this group of ecclesiastical chants has been elucidated by A. Baumstark in several studies,[1] the results of which are summed up in a recent study, 'Byzantinisches in den Weihnachtstexten des Römischen Antiphonarius Officii' (*Oriens Christianus*, 3rd series, xi–xii (1936–8), 163 seq., and in his *Liturgie Comparée*. He demonstrates in the first study the apparent parallel between *Hodie nobis des coelo* and *Hodie nobis coelorum Rex* on one side and *Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Βηθλεέμ* on the other. He shows, moreover, that we can speak here of close relationship only between the

[1] A. Baumstark, 'Übersetzung aus dem Griechischen in den Metten des *Triduum Sacrum*', *Der Katholik*, i (1913), pp. 209–20; 'Die Hodie-Antiphonen des römischen Breviers und der Kreis ihrer griechischen Parallelen', *Die Kirchenmusik* x, pp. 153–60.

two groups of chants, as the originals have undergone such transformations that we cannot find in any one Greek poem the model of the corresponding antiphon. In their present state the whole collection of the Byzantine hymns and the Latin antiphons must be compared in order to find in the different variations of the same theme the form of the old texts which may have been introduced from the Byzantine into the Latin liturgy in the second half of the eighth century.[1]

But there is proof of the correctness of Baumstark's hypothesis: the antiphon *Mirabile mysterium* of the Nativity cycle, sung on the 1st of January[2] at the end of Matins, is an exact translation of the Sticheron, *Παράδοξον μυστήριον*, sung in the Byzantine Church on Christmas Day:[3]

Παράδοξον μυστήριον οἰκονομεῖται σήμερον.
καινοτομοῦνται φύσεις καὶ Θεὸς ἄνθρωπος γίνεται.
ὅπερ ἦν μεμένηκε καὶ ὃ οὐκ ἦν προσέλαβε,
οὐ φυρμὸν ὑπομείνας οὐδὲ διαίρεσιν.

Mirabile mysterium declaratur hodie. Innovantur naturae: Deus homo factus est; quod fuit permansit et, quod non erat, assumpsit, non commixtionem passus neque divisionem.

(2)

Let us now confirm the liturgical evidence concerning the *Hodie* antiphons by examining the melodies of two of the *Σήμερον* Hymns of Christmas Day. The texts of both hymns are variations of the same poetical idea, which has found its ripest expression in the famous *Canticum in Nativitate Christi* of Romanos,[4] but they do not

[1] 'Zahlreiche Weihnachtstexte des römischen *Antiphonarius Officii* bieten den gleichen Befund unverkennbarster Berührung mit byzantinischer Kirchenpoesie, in deren bekannter Masse aber geradezu die Vorlagen der lateinischen Stücke sich nicht mehr nachweisen lassen.' 'Byzantinisches in den Weihnachtstexten', *Oriens Christ.*, 3rd series, xi–xii, p. 166.

[2] *Antiphonale Monasticum*, p. 274.

[3] *M.M.B.*, i, 'Sticherarium', fol. 99 v.

[4] This Kontakion was sung in the Byzantine Church on 25 Dec. It is composed in the third mode on the acrostic *Τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ὁ ὕμνος*. The prooemium of the hymn, which precedes the strophes comprised in the acrostic, is the best-known poem of Byzantine hymnography (cf. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, i. 1; G. Camelli, *Romano il Melode*, p. 88):

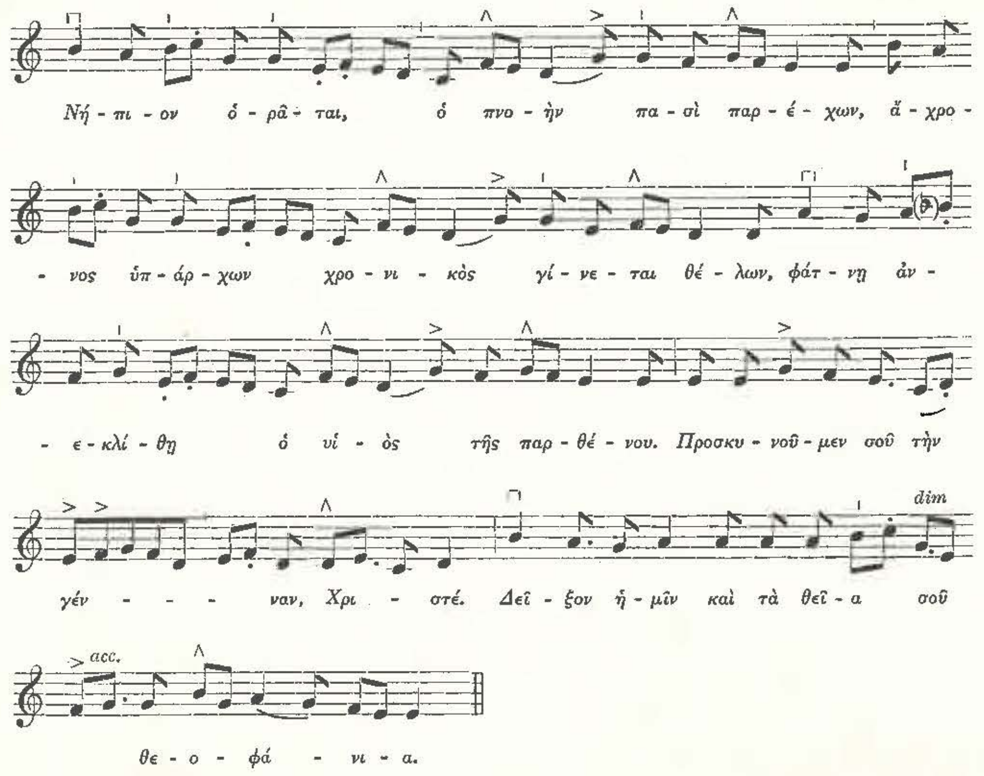
Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον
τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει
καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπήλαιον
τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ προσάγει·
ἄγγελοι μετὰ ποιμένων
δοξολογοῦσι,
μάγοι δὲ μετὰ ἀστέρος
ὁδοιποροῦσι·
δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγεννήθη
παιδίον νέον
ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.

derive from the developed form of the Kontakion, but from a number of monostrophic poems, contemporary with or previous to the Kontakion.

To render the *Σήμερον* melodies in a version satisfactory from all points of view is not an easy task. Variants are more numerous and of greater significance than in other groups of Byzantine hymns. For the first hymn, the version of Codex Dalassinos, published in the first volume of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, will be taken as a paradigm; for the second, the version of Codex Vatopedi 1492 is chosen, supplemented by that of Codex Dalassinos. It will be necessary also to add some variants from other manuscripts to show how far the process of modification can go in the case of some phrases. This shows that the composers used the melodies as a pattern on which they added new details by embellishment of the formulae and cadences without losing contact with tradition. The first hymn, *Σήμερον γεννᾶται*, is the twenty-ninth of the Nativity hymns in Codex Dalassinos, and can be found on fol. 92 v. The hymn is written in the second plagal mode:



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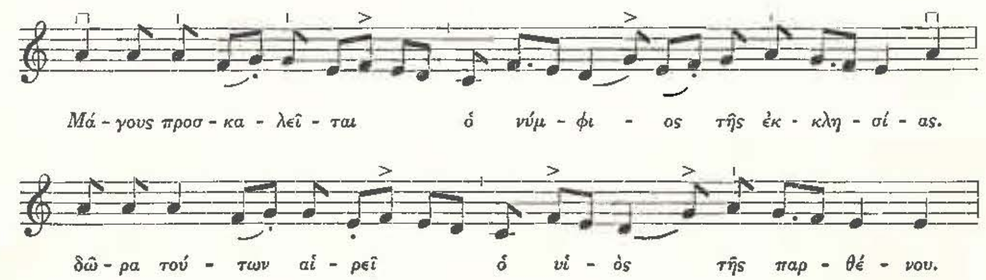


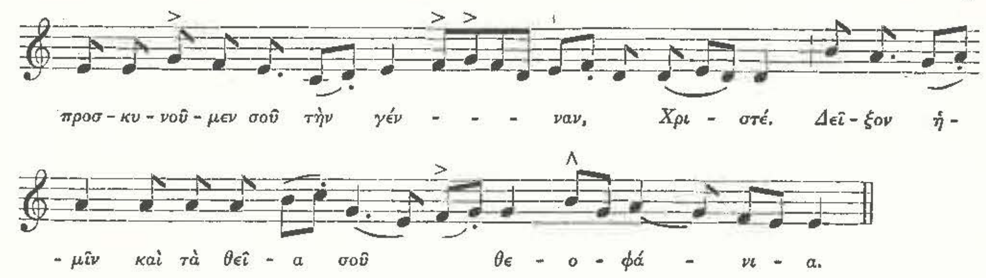
Translation

To-day is born of a Virgin He who holds the whole creation in the hollow of His hand. He is wrapped in swaddling clothes as a mortal man, He whose being is impalpable. God is laid in a manger, He who of old in the beginning established the heavens: He is fed with milk from the breasts, who rained down manna on the people in the desert.

He appears as a babe, who gives breath to all; He who is eternal, of His own free will enters into time; the Son of the Virgin lies in a manger. We worship Thy birth, O Christ. Show us also Thy divine theophany.

From NB text and melody are different in other manuscripts. Codex Parisinus graecus 270, fol. 60 r., has the following version:





Translation

The Bridegroom of the Church calls to Himself the Magi. The Son of the Virgin accepts their gifts.

We worship Thy birth, O Christ. Show us also Thy divine theophany.

Codex Dalassinos also contains some richly embellished versions of the last verse:

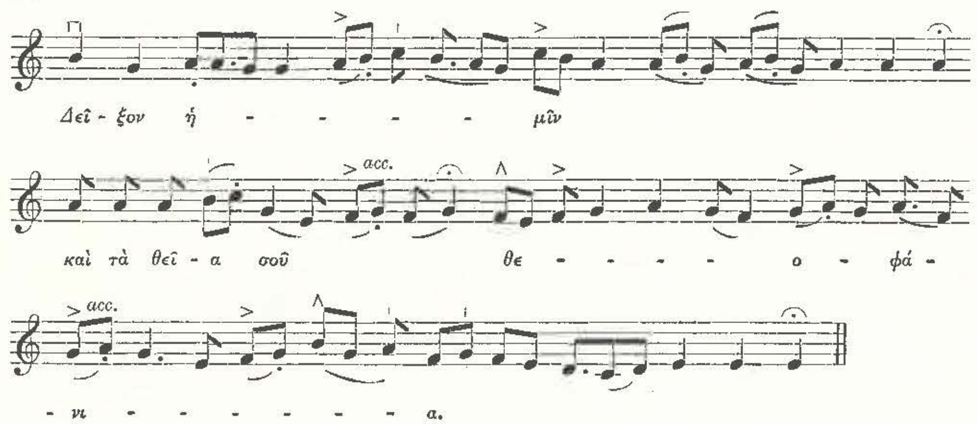
1



2



3



These embellishments, together with the original form of the melody of the final verse, provide a good opportunity for studying the technique of the Maistores. In all the variations the melodic structure of the original is strictly preserved, and the manner of embellishment does not differ from that of later Byzantine musicians, nor from the

technique of Western composers of the Middle Ages in ornamenting a melody or a Gregorian chant. Let us now turn to the second melody, the fortieth Hymn for Christmas time in the Sticherarion.



Translation

To-day Christ is born of a Virgin in Bethlehem. To-day He who has no beginning begins to be, and the Word is made flesh. The powers of the heavens exult, and the earth and man rejoice. The Magi bring their gifts. The shepherds marvel at the wonder.

And we unceasingly cry out: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. And on earth peace, good will toward men.

This hymn is written in the second mode. In Codices Vatopedi 1492 and 1499 the hymn ends at NB; the long ornament on *εἰρήνη*, which is the most impressive phrase of the hymn, does not occur in these manuscripts. It is unlikely to be a later addition of Codex Dalassinos, because it is in keeping with the style of other ornamented passages which are certainly original, while, placed at the end of the hymn, the extended *fioritura* on *εἰρήνη* is of peculiar significance and, from the musical point of view, extremely well placed.

To sum up: the foregoing investigations have made it clear that the *Σήμερον—Hodie* melodies of the Nativity cycle must have been closely connected in their primitive state. But as this group has undergone many transformations textually and musically, it will require special investigations to find out which of the melodies has preserved the original in its least altered form. In order to remove any doubt as to the accuracy of these statements, we may refer to the fact that we possess one example at least from the Nativity cycle which shows its Byzantine origin clearly. It is the famous bilingual Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*, with which we shall have to deal in other connexions in the last chapter of this study.

PART IV

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ELEMENTS IN SEQUENCES AND TROPES

CHAPTER I

I. THE ORIGIN OF SEQUENCES AND TROPES

(1)

OUR investigations into the question of Byzantine elements in Plainchant have shown that we are in fact entitled to speak of real influences and close connexions between the music of the Churches of the East and of the West, if we consider the basic elements of the melodies, the formulae and cadences of which they are composed. The analysis of the antiphon sung during the *Adoratio crucis*, which formed the core of our inquiry, has demonstrated that this and other melodies set to bilingual texts can be regarded as Oriental melodies which either had their origin on Syro-Palestinian soil or were composed in some part of the Byzantine Empire on the model of a melody of Oriental origin.

As long as only a few examples of bilingual singing were known from accounts in the *Ordines Romani* or from other literary sources, or even from manuscripts with Latin neums, it could be maintained that we had no right to speak of Greek versus Byzantine influence in Western music, but only of the fact that melodies were sung in Greek and in Latin, and that this liturgical use was due to the existence of large Greek colonies in Rome and in other parts of Italy and western Europe. But the inquiries carried out in the foregoing chapters have clearly proved that a great part of the Gregorian melodies consists of thematic material which can also be found in the treasury, until recently inaccessible, of Byzantine hymns. This discovery makes it evident that the melodies belonging to bilingual texts can no longer be considered as of Western origin, adapted to Greek texts for the purpose of making them easily understood by the Greeks attending the Office,[1] but that they were introduced from Byzantium. Moreover, it proves that the Greek language was retained in Offices of special liturgical solemnity in order to accentuate, by these remnants of an old and venerable tradition, the solemn character of the Feast. This kind of usage has been characterized by A. Baumstark as the 'law of preservation of old usages in times of solemn celebration'.[2] It

[1] O. Ursprung, 'Alte griechische Einflüsse und neuer gräzistischer Einschlag in der mittelalterlichen Musik', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, xii, pp. 193–219.

[2] The name of this 'law'—as Baumstark calls it (we should prefer to speak of a 'liturgical use')—appears for the first time in an article of his, 'Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit', in the *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, vii, pp. 1–23. A summary of this article is given in a recent publication of Baumstark's, *Liturgie comparée*, Conférences faites au Prieuré d'Amay in the second chapter, 'Les lois de l'évolution liturgique'.

extends to all liturgical usages as well as to ecclesiastical poetry and music. If we apply the 'law' to the objects of our inquiry, the melodies with Greek and Latin texts, we find that this group of chants represents an element in Plainchant which did not share the stylistic development to which musical forms are subject. They remained untouched in form from the moment of their introduction into Latin liturgy, and constituted a group apart from the main body of melodies, being performed only on special occasions during ceremonies of a highly solemn character, for which they were designated by the ritual of the Western Church.

Here our investigations might end. But there still remains the question whether traces can be found in later forms of Plainchant of a second wave of Eastern influence, deriving, as it had been supposed, from Byzantium. This theory, advocated by P. Wagner,[1] raised a lively controversy in recent years. It was started by C. Blume,[2] who collaborated with H. M. Bannister in collecting and editing Early Medieval ecclesiastical poetry in the *Analecta Hymnica*, and by O. Ursprung.[3]

In the present state of our knowledge of Western music of this period it is not possible to deal thoroughly with the problem. Some suggestions, however, coming for the first time from Byzantine scholars, may help to clear up the position for further inquiries on a subject which seems to me of primary importance for an understanding of the origins of Early Medieval music. For, in my opinion, this new influx from the East gave the impulse which led ecclesiastical musicians to free themselves from the bonds which until then had hindered any further development of music in the Church except in the case of Plainsong. Thus they succeeded in starting a movement which led to the creation of new forms, by which Gregorian texts and melodies were given a new, richly developed shape. These forms are the Tropes, and especially a very important group of them, the Sequences.

(2)

The term *Tropus*[4] signifies an amplification or embellishment or intercalation added either in words or music to a Gregorian chant used

[1] P. Wagner, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturg. Gesangsformen*, i, pp. 253 seqq., and 'Morgen- und Abendland in der Musikgeschichte', *Stimmen der Zeit*, cxiv (1927), pp. 131 seqq.

[2] C. Blume, 'Vom Alleluia zur Sequenz', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, xxiv (1911), 1–20.

[3] O. Ursprung, 'Alte griech. Einflüsse', *Zeitschr. f. Musikwiss.* xii, pp. 202 seqq.

[4] See I. Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les Tropes* (Paris, 1886); C. Blume, *Analecta Hymnica*, xlvii. 18–20; K. Young, *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, i (Oxford, 1933), pp. 178–97. Young, considering the question only from a literary point of view, defines a Trope as 'a verbal amplification of a passage in the authorized liturgy, in the form of an introduction, an interpolation, or a conclusion, or in the form of any combination of these'.

in the authorized liturgy. *Sequentia* (Sequence) is a name given to a special kind of Tropes, to additions of words only, or of words and music to the long melismas attached to the melody of an Alleluia. This melisma, sung on the vowel *a*, the last syllable of the word *Alleluia*, has a special name; it is called *Jubilus*. Therefore, by the term *Sequentia* additions to the Jubilus of an Alleluia are denoted. Both terms, *Tropus* and *Sequentia*, are used to denote the amplifications of the verbal text as well as of the music.

It has rightly been pointed out by W. H. Frere that the word *Sequentia* was used at first as a musical term, and he refers to the first edition of the *Ordo Romanus II* by Hittorp, col. 3, where it is stated '*Sequitur jubilatio* [the melisma without words on the last syllable of the Alleluia] *quam sequentiam vocant*', a passage omitted in Mabillon's edition of the Roman *Ordo*'s.[1] When words were added to the Jubilus the term *Versus* was introduced for the literary text, or, in France, the term *Prosa*. The Tropes, text and music, attached to the Alleluia were called, therefore, either *Versus ad Sequentias* or *Sequentiae cum Prosa*, and later on *Prosa ad Sequentiam*.

Attention has been drawn from the beginning of studies in Early Medieval music to the fact that the term *Tropus* has obviously the same significance as the Byzantine term τροπάριον, designating a short strophe, and also that *Sequentia* has the same meaning as ἀκολουθία, i.e. a sequence of verses or strophes. From this similarity of the terms used in the East and West to designate the new forms of ecclesiastical poetry, conclusions were drawn concerning Byzantine influences on the origin of Sequences and Tropes. The analogy is very striking indeed, but was advocated at a time in the history of our studies when the Swiss monastery of St. Gall was generally considered to have been the birthplace of the Sequences. But as no special name seems to have existed in St. Gall for the new type of chants, the argument is unconvincing.

The oldest Tropers, containing the Sequences of Notker, bear the inscription: *Incipit liber ymnorum Notkeri Balbuli* or *Incipit liber ymnorum ad sequentias modulatorum*.[2] Since the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, however, the term *Sequentia* was used in St. Gall for both words and music, according to Ekkehard IV, commenting upon an old verse on Notker in the appended note: '[Notker] presbyter, sequentias L cum "Sancti spiritus".'

The correct titles *Versus ad Sequentias*, *Sequentia cum Prosa*, or *Prosa ad sequentiam*, which we find in English and French manuscripts, fell into disuse, and the term *Sequentia* was generally accepted,

[1] *The Winchester Troper*, Introd., p. ix.

[2] C. Blume, *Vom Alleluia z. Sequ.*, p. 15.

as the study of Sequences started from St. Gall manuscripts and as everything coming from this monastery was regarded as authoritative.

W. Meyer was the first to put forward strong arguments in favour of the Byzantine origin of the Sequences, in his well-known essay 'Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rhythmischen Dichtung,'[1] based on the comparison of Greek Troparia with Notker's *Sequentiae*. P. Wagner followed his lead, reaching the conclusion that in Notker's Sequences no connexion could be found with hymns of the Latin Church in the style of St. Ambrosius and his followers. 'They cannot have originated on Latin soil; they are nothing else than Byzantine hymns transferred to the West. The similarity becomes evident if we compare Notker's Sequences with Greek hymns edited by Pitra.'[2]

During the thirty years which have passed since P. Wagner wrote these words, our knowledge of the poetry and music of the Pre-Romanesque and Early Romanesque periods has been substantially enlarged, but not sufficiently to enable us to come to a clear decision in favour of one theory or the other; or I should prefer to say that we now see the so-called 'Byzantine problem' in a different light. The term 'Byzantine' now demands a clearer definition and, in recognizing Byzantine influences, we also want to know whether they were accepted in Western countries merely as foreign elements, or were assimilated, and whether they gave the decisive impulse which freed creative forces until then latent.

Before entering into more detailed treatment of the question of 'Byzantine influence' on the rise of the Sequences and Tropes, I shall first give a survey of the various views regarding their origin.

(3)

It is still a matter of conjecture (1) at what date, (2) where, whether in France or elsewhere, and (3) for what liturgical or artistic purpose the writing and composing of the embellishments and interpolations to given Gregorian chants started in the monasteries. We have not, as a matter of fact, acquired any considerable increase of knowledge about the origin of the Sequences and the Tropes since W. H. Frere published his introduction to *The Winchester Troper* in the eighth volume of the Henry Bradshaw Society in 1894, the first masterly survey of the whole problem. We do not want to underrate the additional knowledge due to the critical edition of Sequences and Tropes in several volumes of the *Analecta Hymnica*, by C. Blume and

[1] *Abhandl. d. K. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, I Cl. XVIII, ii, 2nd part (1884), pp. 93 seqq., 'Die lateinischen Sequenzen'.

[2] Cf. P. Wagner, *Einführung*, i (1911), p. 262.

H. M. Bannister. This work enabled us to study the literary side of the question, whereas C. A. Moberg's book on the Swedish Sequences[1] and H. M. Bannister's *Papers on the Anglo-French Sequelae*, edited by A. Hughes,[2] provided us with valuable material for the study of the musical side of the problem. There is also evidence that comprehensive attempts were made by C. Blume and, especially, by H. M. Bannister, to solve the question of the Sequences; the introduction to the fifty-third volume of the *Analecta Hymnica* is a valuable attestation to these efforts. But unfortunately the Great War and the death of Bannister in 1919 put an end to this collaboration. In recent years J. Handschin, Professor of Musicology at Basle, has, on various occasions, given proof of his profound knowledge of the period in which Sequences and Tropes developed, but no substantial result of his investigations has as yet been published.

I shall try to explain in a few words the difficulties which have hitherto hampered the progress of these studies, in the order in which the questions concerning the origin of the Sequences and Tropes were put at the beginning of this section.

(1) The earliest manuscript containing a collection of Tropes which has survived is the St. Martial Troper, Paris Bibl. Nat. fonds latin. 1240, dating from the first part of the tenth century (903–26). The existence of a book of this kind is obviously a sign that the use of Tropes must have been a long-established fact, or else the necessity of collecting them would not have arisen.

It is not fully established which of the various forms of Tropes was created first, whether the Tropes to the Ordinary of the Mass or the Tropes to the variable elements—Introit, Alleluia, Offertory, and Communion.[3] Most of the scholars connected with these studies tend to the supposition that the Tropes to the Alleluia, the Sequences, were used first and that the success of this new kind of chant inspired the monks to embellish other musical forms of the Gregorian repertory with similar ornamentations.

The writing of Sequences seems to have started on a large scale in the course of the eighth century, but some scholars hold that the beginning should be fixed much earlier, i.e. in the time of the Gregorian reform of Plainchant.

(2) It is not known where the writing of Sequences and Tropes was first introduced. When studies on this subject were first undertaken,

[1] C. A. Moberg, 'Über die schwedischen Sequenzen', *Veröffentlichungen der gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg i. d. Schweiz*, xiii, 2nd vol. (Uppsala, 1927).

[2] *Anglo-French Sequelae from the Papers of the Late Henry Mariott Bannister*, ed. Anselm Hughes, O.S.B., The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society (1934).

[3] A classification of the various specimens of Tropes is given by Frere in tabular form in the Introduction to his edition of *The Winchester Troper*, p. x.

the invention of Sequence-writing was generally attributed to St. Gall. This hypothesis was based on the following facts. From the middle of the nineteenth century, St. Gall was considered by German historiography as the centre of monastic life, an opinion based on Ekkehard IV's *Casus S. Galli*, edited in the second volume of the *Monumenta Germaniae* in 1828. P. Schubiger's *Die Sängerschule von St. Gallen*, published in 1858, confirmed this view. Even the doubts raised by later historians[1] as to the reliability of Ekkehard's authority could not undermine the predilections of the learned world for anything connected with the famous monastery. Notker Balbulus was considered to be the first author of the Sequences, and the rich treasury of these chants, transmitted in the Tropers of St. Gall, was ascribed to him, though it could be learned from Notker's *Prooemium* to his *Liber Ymnorum*—the name *Liber Sequentiarum* occurs only in later manuscripts—that a priest from Jumièges, fleeing to St. Gall after the sack of the abbey by the Norsemen, brought with him his Antiphonary, containing some verses adapted to Sequences, though already corrupted: 'Interim vero contigit ut presbyter quidam de Gimedia, nuper a Nordmannis vastata, veniret ad nos antiphonarium suum secum deferens, in quo aliqui versus ad sequentias erant modulati, sed jam tunc nimium vitiati.'

This account should have made unprejudiced students hesitant of attributing to Notker the authorship of the Sequences. For we can see from this and the following passage that Notker not only learned from the monk of Jumièges the technique of writing Sequences, but also that he was able to recognize in them a still older model which had been transformed, so that he could write: 'Quorum ut visu delectatus, ita sum gustu amaricatus. Ad imitationem tamen eorumdum coepi scribere: *Laudes Deo concinat orbis universus, qui gratis est redemptus* et infra: *Coluber Adae deceptor*.'[2]

Nevertheless Notker Balbulus was not only praised as the first poet-musician who invented the new kind of chant, not only was the *Liber Ymnorum* considered as entirely his own work, but also the rich treasury of the St. Gall Tropers was attributed to him. Even when it became quite obvious that the Notkerian hypothesis could no longer be maintained, C. Blume felt himself obliged to state that he and Bannister regretted the shattering of their conviction based on belief in the authenticity of the Canon of the Notkerian Sequences, and

[1] 'Die Erzählung Ekkeharts, der nicht einmal über Ereignisse und Personen des 9. Jahrhdts. eine deutliche Vorstellung hatte, ist nichts weiter als ein Versuch, sein Kloster St. Gallen dem durch seine Gesangskunst schon früh berühmten Metz gleichzustellen.' I. Werner, *Notkers Sequenzen*, p. 96. Cf. also Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, p. 365; and P. Wagner, *Einführung*, i, p. 249.

[2] Cf. *Patr. Lat.*, cxxxi, col. 1003, and the critical edition of the *Prooemium* in I. Werner's *Notkers Sequenzen* (1901), pp. 97 seqq.

above all on their faith in the St. Gall origin of the chants.[1] Their investigations convinced Blume and Bannister that at least two or three of the Sequences contained in the oldest version of the *Liber Ymnorum* must be considered as compositions of Ekkehard I (†973) and not of Notker, so that it became doubtful whether the rest may not have been a compilation, in which Notker's own compositions only form a part of the collection of Sequences.[2] Moreover, examination of the St. Gall Tropers has proved that a great number of the Sequences formerly attributed to the school of St. Gall had their origin in other monasteries in the German-speaking countries, and that Metz, Murbach, Fulda, Echternach, Kremsmünster, St. Florian, and other monasteries have now to be considered as centres of the new art of hymn-writing, nearly as important as the Alemannic monastery.[3]

By the refutation of the Notkerian and St. Gall hypotheses, the way has been cleared for a more accurate investigation into the problem of the origin of the Sequences; but now the same mistake that had hindered any satisfactory progress has again been repeated. The earliest documents have been found, as already mentioned, in manuscripts from central and southern France; but this fact gives no convincing evidence as to the centre from which the new form of chants may have spread to the eastern part of Europe.

When it became evident that St. Gall could no longer be considered as the place where Sequence-writing started, the idea unfortunately persisted that another centre of origin for the Sequence must be found. Dreves, then editor of the *Analecta Hymnica*, tried to demonstrate that St. Martial at Limoges was their birthplace, and based his theory on the six St. Martial Tropers, Codices Paris, Bibl. Nat. 778, 887, 903, 1087, 1119, and 1120. But Blume and Bannister succeeded in proving that the first of these manuscripts came from Narbonne, the third from Yrieix, the fourth from Cluny, the fifth from St. Augustin, and the second and the sixth from St. Martin;[4] they were also able to prove that the greater part of the so-called *Prosarium Lemovicense* did not come from St. Martial but from other parts of France, and to some extent from England and from Italy; further, that the texts in the St. Martial Tropers did not show the

[1] See Introduction, p. xiv, vol. liii, of the *Analecta Hymnica*, and C. Blume, 'Vom Alleluia zur Sequenz', *Kirchenmus. Jahrbuch*, xxiv (1911), 2: 'Es stellte sich nämlich heraus, dass die alte, liebgewonnene Ansicht, St. Gallen sei die Ursprungsstätte der Sequenzendichtung und die ersten Sequenzen seien in der Weise komponiert, wie es so naiv im sogenannten *Prooemium Notkeri* geschildert wird, leider aufgegeben werden muss.' From this article, published in the same year as the fifty-third volume of the *Analecta Hymnica*, it seems evident to me that Blume was rather reluctant to give up the St. Gall hypothesis, and that it was his collaborator on the *Analecta*, H. M. Bannister, who convinced him of the view expressed in the Introduction to Vol. liii of the *Analecta Hymnica*.

[2] *Anal. Hymn.*, p. xiii. [3] Ibid., p. xi. [4] Ibid., p. vii.

original form, but a corrupted one, partly shortened, partly expanded.[1] Luxeuil, founded in 590, Fleury-sur-Loire, founded about 650, and St. Pierre at Moissac now seem to have equalled or even surpassed St. Martial in importance for the rise of Sequences; but future investigation may make it necessary to reconsider this statement, too, as the part played by British and Italian Prose writing in the evolution and development of the new form of chants is still a matter for further studies.

In pursuance of this question, J. Handschin[2] suggested that it should be investigated whether the Sequences might not possibly have been introduced from England into France, a supposition contrary to all former theories about the origin of the Tropes.[3] There are many arguments in favour of this hypothesis, though it would be premature as yet to draw conclusions which may prove to be as erroneous as the St. Gall or St. Martial theory, once a survey of the whole *Corpus Sequentiarum* becomes possible, and a stylistic analysis of both the texts and music can be begun. The same applies to any hypothesis concerning the origin of the Italian Sequences.

(3) Further, we are not fully aware of the reasons which induced musicians and poets to make use of the new forms of Sequences and Tropes. The current explanation regarding the Sequences is that singers were no longer capable of remembering the long melismas by heart, or of singing them correctly; therefore every note of the melisma had to be combined with a syllable in order to overcome these difficulties without destroying the long melismas. This explanation, again, is based on the authority of the *Prooemium Notkeri* and refers to its opening sentence, in which Notker tells Luitward of Vercelli—to whom he dedicated his *Liber Ymnorum*, better known by its title in later manuscripts, *Liber Sequentiarum*—how in his youth he could not store up the long melodies in his memory, and how he turned over in his mind ways by which he could retain them: 'Cum adhuc juvenculus essem et melodiae longissimae saepius memoriae commendatae

[1] *Anal. Hymn.*, p. viii.

[2] Cf. Handschin's article, 'The Two Winchester Tropers', in *J.T.S.* (1936), pp. 34–49, and pp. 156–72.

[3] Only two years before Handschin's suggestion appeared, A. Hughes wrote in the Introduction of the *Anglo-French Sequelae*, p. 11: 'Whatever may be the ultimate source of the Gregorian melodies, it is certainly not France: whereas it is almost equally certain that France is the ultimate home of the sequence-melody. Dr. Bannister (as we have seen) was undoubtedly convinced, on the score of a large body of evidence, that this fact might be taken as axiomatic.' No reference is made to P. Wagner's *Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen*, 3rd ed., pp. 251–2, where the question is raised whether Plainchant was introduced to St. Gall directly from Rome, or from Metz, or, more probably, through Anglo-Irish monks: 'Es ist nicht ohne Bedeutung, dass der älteste nachweisbare St. Gallische Künstler irischer Herkunft ist.' A stylistic analysis of the Anglo-Irish Tropers based on the methods of the School of Solesmes would help to elucidate the question.

instabile corculum aufugerent, coepi tacitus mecum volvere quonam modo eas potuerim colligare.'

He then tells the story of the arrival of the monk from Jumièges at St. Gall and speaks of his own first attempts to write Sequences, which he submitted to his singing-master for an opinion. 'Quos cum magistro meo Ysoni obtulissem, ille studio meo congratulatus imperitiaeque compassus quae placuerunt laudavit, quae autem minus emendare curavit, dicens: "Singulae motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere."'

From this passage we can see that every single note had to be connected with *one* syllable. The rule was obviously well known to Yso,[1] but not to Notker, who afterwards tried to correct the mistakes he had made in his first attempts at adapting words to an already existing melody. In reading the paragraph of the *Prooemium* we may ask how Notker could ever have been considered as the originator of the art of writing Sequences, even at St. Gall, since he quotes Yso as his master who bore with his inexperience and gave him hints on putting words to music in the right way: 'Quod ego audiens ea quidem quae in *ia* veniebant ad liquidum correxi; quae vero in *le* quasi impossibilia vel attemptare[2] neglexi, cum et illud postea usu[3] facillimum deprehenderim, ut testes sunt *Dominus in Sina* et *Mater*. Hocque modo instructus secunda mox vice dictavi:[4] *Psallat ecclesia, mater illibata.*'

To reach an understanding of this passage it is necessary to refer to a discovery made by Blume and Bannister, explaining the difference between the French and German schools of Sequence-writers.

French Sequences of the first period begin with the word 'Alleluia'. The text of the poem—or the first verses of the poem—is set to the melody of the Jubilus. In St. Gall, contrary to this custom, the word 'Alleluia' is omitted and the first strophes of the hymn are put to the melody of the Alleluia. The original connexion of the Sequences with the terminal vowel of the word 'Alleluia' is often marked by the French hymn-writers by making the last syllable of each verse end on *a*. Blume and Bannister give as an example the Sequence *Excita* of the third Sunday of Advent, according to French and English manuscripts.[5]

[1] Yso (†871) was—together with Marcellus, an Irishman who studied Gregorian chant in Rome—one of the founders of the School of St. Gall. Among their pupils, the best known were Hartmann, Waltram, Salomo, Notker, Tuotilo, and Ratpert. P. Wagner (cf. *Einführung*, i, p. 251) points out as worthy of notice that the earliest musician at St. Gall is of Irish descent.

[2] Some MSS. have the reading *attemperare*.

[3] Other MSS.: *visu*.

[4] Other MSS.: *voce*.

[5] *Analecta hymnica*, liii. 8.

Alleluia

(1) Qui regis sceptr*a*
forti dextr*a*
solus cunct*a*

(2) Tu plebi tu*am*
ostende magn*am*
excitando potenti*am*

(3) Praesta dona illi salutari*a*
quem praedixerunt prophetic*a*
vaticini*a*
in clara poli regi*a*
in nostr*a*
Jesu, veni, Domine, arv*a*.

Contrary to this custom, a St. Gall Sequence of the second Sunday after Epiphany, *Laudate Deum*,[1] ascribed to Notker, shows assonances on *e* and *u*; these are the vowels of the syllables l*e* and l*u* of the omitted 'Alleluia', and it is quite obvious that Notker tried to preserve in the words of his hymn the sound of the vowels on which the melodic phrases were sung; this also explains the *a* of 'Angelorum' corresponding to the first vowel of '*A*lleluia'. The beginning of the hymn runs as follows:

(1) Angelorum ordo sac*er*

(2) Dei sereno semp*er*
vultu iocundat*e*

(3) Qui laude ipsi*us*
super fav*um*
dulci pasceris in aev*um*.

Confirmation of this hypothesis comes from a study of the melody of the hymn. The Alleluia of the second Sunday after Epiphany, according to the *Editio Vaticana*, reads as follows:



The version of the *Sequela*—the name given to the melody of a Sequence—which Bannister published in the *Analecta hymnica*,[2] shows not the *cephalicus*, the combination of the *f* with a liquescent note on *d*, but only the *virga* on *f*; otherwise both versions are identical. Comparison of the liturgical Alleluia with the *Sequela* text of

[1] *Analecta hymnica*, liii, pp. 314–15. [2] Ibid., p. 315.

Angelorum ordo sacer shows the new way of adapting words to music:



(4)

Let us now turn back to the passage of the *Prooemium* quoted on p. 161. The Sequence *Laudes Deo concinat orbis universus*, to which Notker refers as being his first attempt to imitate the *Versus ad Sequentias*, can best be studied in the critical edition of the text in the fifty-third volume of the *Analecta hymnica* (pp. 93–4), which is reproduced here in order to make the remarks that follow more easily understood.

(1) Laudes Deo

(2) Concinat orbis
ubique totus,
qui gratis est
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
liberatus

(3) Per summi patris
indulgentiam,
qui miserans,
quod genus humanum
casu succubuit
veterano

(4) - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Misit huc natum suum in terras

(5) Ut sua dextra
iacentes caeno levaret polo
restitueretque patriae.

(6) Hic ergo genitus
illibatae
matris utero

(7) Hic vixit solus homo
absque naevo
et sine dolo

(8) Coluber,
Adae malesuasor

(9) Quem sua
non infecit fraude

(10) Quin ipse
carnis eius esca
petita avide

(11) Delusus
hamo deitatis
victus est in aevum.

(12) Igitur omnes
quibus princeps huius saeculi,
quae sibi placita sunt,
inflixit
quosque perdidit,

(13) Huic haerete
in quo suum nihil invenit;
nam ipse adhaerentes
nequaquam
potest perdere.

(14) Gratias nunc in saecula

(15) Omnipotenti redemptori

(16) Canamus.

A study of the rhythmical structure of the hymn makes it quite clear why Notker, in the *Prooemium*, quotes two lines of the Sequence;

Laudes Deo concinat orbis universus, qui gratis est redemptus and *Coluber Adae deceptor*, with the connecting words *et infra*. The editors of the *Analecta* have marked with serpentine lines the places in the second and fourth strophe, where Notker found it too difficult to reach rhythmical symmetry. They suggest that this irregularity occurred in the strophes, which were put to the melodic phrases, originally connected with the syllables *le* and *lu* of the 'Alleluia'; from the eighth strophe *Coluber, Adae malesuasor* onwards, the rhythmical symmetry is kept in the corresponding strophes. Bannister and Blume assume, therefore, that from here on the words were put to the melody of the Jubilus. They have already pointed out convincingly that the divergencies between the text of the lines of the *Prooemium* and of the Sequence (*orbis universus—orbis ubique totus*; *redemptus—liberatus*; *deceptor—malesuasor*) can be explained by assuming that the verses in the *Prooemium* represent Notker's first version of the poem, before he had shown it to Yso, and the Sequence represents the text after Yso had given his advice about correcting the rhythm.

But after having made these enlightening explanations, the editors sceptically raise the question why it seemed to the skilled poet 'a nearly impossible task' to put words to the melismas of the 'Alleluia', as the text was not bound to any rules concerning the rhythm, but as every step of the melody had simply to be connected with a syllable (*singuli motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere*). And they come to the conclusion: 'Somit gibt diese erste, angeblich von Notker verfasste Sequenz, wenn wir die Echtheit des Prooemiums voraussetzen, allerlei Rätsel auf.' The difficulty of answering the question in a satisfactory way seems to lie in an erroneous view of the editors concerning the poetical task Notker had to fulfil. It would be quite wrong to apply our ideas about the work of a poet to a monk of the ninth century.

Notker, as he says, learned the art of writing Sequences from an Antiphonary containing *Versus ad Sequentias* of French origin. It is, as we have seen, a peculiar feature of the French *Sequentia* to start with the Jubilus and to leave the Alleluia untouched. But Notker started to put his words to the melody of the Alleluia. We cannot judge whether he was the first hymnographer who made use of this innovation, or whether he was taught by Yso to do so; but we can realize that he could not imitate the French model in this part, whereas he may have followed a model very closely in setting words to the Jubilus. By accepting this view, which is strongly supported by our experience in contemporary Byzantine hymnography, the passage of the *Prooemium* no longer offers any difficulties and its authenticity need not now be doubted. If it could be proved that Notker really was the first hymnographer to set words to the entire Alleluia-Jubilus melody, we should not only admire in him the great poet he certainly was, but would also have to consider him as a great innovator in the rising poetical genre.

(5)

A very important question still remains unanswered: how was it that the singing of the Alleluia-Jubilus was maintained unchanged in the Roman Church at a time when the long, flowing melismas were alienated from their original meaning, and separated, note from note, by the addition of words?

The only possible explanation of this development seems to be that already, at a very early date, before the beginning of hymn-writing, the long melismas had lost their fluidity and were sung, especially in the western European countries, in a slower rhythm, the groups of neums, though linked together in script, being performed in a disconnected manner. We know from our own experience that Plainchant slows down when it is accompanied by the organ, and loses its peculiar character. But as we are now beginning to realize that the organ may have been used at a much earlier date than was believed up to a very short time ago, and, further, that two-part singing may have started before the ninth century, we can now assume that the singing of the Oriental *melodiae longissimae* was influenced in western Europe by the awakening of a new spirit in music. We cannot say for certain whether this tendency was a result of the growing influence of Latin metrical hymns or was due to the influence of secular music, or both; but we have no explanation of the psychological process by which an ornament, originally sung on a syllable of the Alleluia or as a phrase of the Jubilus, came to be broken up into all its constituent particles.

Even if this question could be answered, there still remains another difficulty in the discussion of the origin of the Sequences. We know that at the beginning of the new movement melodies without words were introduced. How can this fact be reconciled with the hypothesis that the rise of the Sequences was made necessary by the inability of Western singers to store up the long melodies in their memory?

The problem of the origin of the Sequences and Tropes seems indeed to include so many contradictory aspects that we can understand the sceptical attitude of J. Handschin, in an article on the Winchester Tropers to which reference has already been made. For nearly every argument which this excellent Swiss musicologist produces in favour of an hypothesis he finds another, contradicting the first. Such critical pessimism obviously goes too far, though it is rightly directed

against a certain type of musicologist, who builds up far-reaching theories on precarious foundations. But by exaggerating the difficulties of finding a satisfactory answer to all the questions enumerated above, such an attitude impedes an unprejudiced approach to the problem of our investigations.

W. H. Frere already visualized the complexity of the problems connected with the origin and rise of the Sequences and Tropes when he wrote in the introduction of his edition of the Winchester Troper:[1]

> 'Every new movement brings with it the signs of its own decay, and while on the one hand the jubila were becoming more and more popular owing to the desire for melodies without words, combined no doubt with a mistaken wish to enrich and embellish the old chant, on the other hand these same jubila were being fitted with words, which were found to be necessary, or at least desirable, owing to the difficulty of remembering the melodies without them.'

We do not want to argue about Frere's view that the movement to enrich Gregorian chant may be described as a 'mistaken wish'; I should only like to say that it can be of no importance whether or not we approve of a musical development of such moment; we have to reckon with it and we have to find out why the hymn-writers and musicians of a period which lasted for more than four centuries did their best to improve the art of writing and composing Sequences and Tropes.

But Frere makes it clear that a tendency existed and was becoming more and more popular, to embellish both the words and the music of chants belonging to, or deriving from, the Gregorian repertory. Here Frere touches on a point essential for the understanding of the factors by which the origin and the development of the Sequences and Tropes have been furthered.

[1] *The Winchester Troper*, p. viii.

CHAPTER II

THE MUSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE SEQUENCES

(1)

THE impulse for developing the new musical forms came from the rise of a new spirit in western Europe which permeated art, poetry, and music, and stimulated artists to combine the legacy of sacred music entrusted to them with the heritage of secular art. The poet-musician is no longer an anonymous contributor to the store of Gregorian melodies, nor are the melodies without a title. We know the names of the famous hymn-writers, each has his individual style, and the melodies are referred to by incipits of Plainchant melodies from which they derive, or by names of secular songs, or by other titles, which refer to their origin.[1]

The artistic movement itself forms only a part of the spiritual movement which reached its first peak in the Carolingian Renaissance of the eighth and ninth centuries. It was initiated by the foundation of monasteries, which gradually developed as centres of a new system of education, based on the ideas which Cassiodorus tried to realize in the foundation of Vivarium (about 540). In the schemes to raise the standard of the clergy and of the laymen an important place was given to the study of music. But the task was different in the monastic schools, where music formed a part of the *artes liberales*, and in the cathedral schools, destined exclusively for the education of the clergy, where the practice of music and not its theoretical and philosophical basis was mainly taught. Charlemagne tried to introduce the same system of education into the monastic and cathedral schools, reviving the ideas of Cassiodorus; but teaching at the cathedral schools could not be brought into line with that of the monasteries, and in the future took a different course.

As centres for musical studies in the Franconian kingdom, the monasteries of St. Martin at Tours, St. Germain at Auxerre, Ferrières, Fulda, Reichenau, and St. Gall were of primary importance. After them should be mentioned St. Amand, Fleury, St. Pierre at Moissac, and St. Martial at Limoges. Some of these monasteries were influenced by Hiberno-Scottish and Anglo-Saxon monasticism,

[1] A large number of names of Sequences and Tropes can be found in W. H. Frere's edition of *The Winchester Troper*, pp. 228–38. A few names taken (1) from Gregorian melodies and (2) from other melodies may be given here: (1) *Adorabo, Beatus vir, Concelebremus, Dies Sanctificatus, Eduxit Dominus, Gloriosa dies, Haec est sancta.* (2) *Aurea, Baverisca, Berta vetula, Cithara, Fidicula, Frigdola, Greca Pulchra, Hypodiaconissa, Lyra, Musca, Occidentana, Planctus Cygni, Prota, Puella turbata, Romana, Symphonia, Tractus consona, Tympanum, Vaga, Virgo plorans, Vitellia.*

not only through the immigration of monks from these countries, but owing to the great esteem enjoyed by the schools of Canterbury and Malmesbury, the monasteries at Jarrow and Wearmouth and, above all, the monastic school of York.

The impulse for the intensification of cultural life in Western Europe came into being when the people of the British Isles and of the Merovingian realm were brought into contact with Christian civilization. Charlemagne took up all these endeavours and concentrated them at his court at Aix-la-Chapelle, which was turned into an intellectual microcosm. From here he aimed at imposing conformity to a single norm on everything connected with Divine Service, with liturgy, chant,[1] and monastic education.[2] He wanted to suppress all local rites and usages. The famous words, spoken at Easter 787 in Rome, 'Revertimini vos ad fontem sancti Gregorii, quia manifeste corrupistis cantilenam ecclesiasticam', reflect only one side of his endeavours to re-establish Plainchant in its traditional form and to abolish the chants of the Gallican and Ambrosian rites.

In going back to 'the source' he also furthered all efforts to reintroduce the study of musical theory based on the treatises of the Greek and Roman theorists. In his admiration for the Eastern Church, he also ordered the translation into Latin of some Greek hymns to which he had listened, so it is reported, in concealment, when members of a Byzantine legation sang chants of their Church during their stay at the Franconian court.[3]

(2)

The endeavours of Charlemagne and of his Academy, however, should not be entirely identified with the spiritual movement of which we have already spoken. They were restricted to a relatively small but powerful ruling society and did not fully succeed in transforming the existing manifestations of ecclesiastical and secular life in the Carolingian domain. Ambrosian chant, for example, as is well known, resisted the unifying tendencies, though many liturgical books of the

[1] 'Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant', *Admonitio generalis anni 789*, *Mon. Germ.*, Leg. sect., ii. 1, p. 61.

[2] 'Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant.' Ibid., p. 60.

[3] 'Cum igitur Graeci post Matutinas laudes imperatori celebratas, in octava die Theophaniae secreto in sua lingua psallerent, et ille occultatus in proximo carminum dulcedine delectaretur, praecipit clericis suis ut nihil ante gustarent quam easdem antiphonas in Latinum conversas ipsi praesentarent.' *De Gestis Beati Caroli Magni*, App. II, cap. x., *Patr. Lat.* xcviii (1935).

Milanese rite were destroyed; and musicians in the Franconian Empire found a means of avoiding the strict injunctions of the *Revertimini ad fontem sancti Gregorii* by cultivating the new forms of Sequences and Tropes, in which they enjoyed full artistic independence.

The importance of the development inaugurated by the introduction of the Sequences can be best shown by giving an example, and by trying to explain its musical structure. Let us take as an example the Sequence Alleluia *Concelebremus*, transmitted in a ninth-century Troper of St. Martial at Limoges (Codex Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 1154, f. 142 v.), and published by J. Handschin in his study *Über Estampie und Sequenz II*.[1] The Sequence is written to a melody which is modelled on the Alleluia *Levita Laurentius*.[2] By writing the Alleluia Versus above the Sequence we shall be able to see where the Sequence melody, the *Sequela*, varies from the Gregorian melody.[3] From the kind and extent of the divergencies we can learn, (1) whether the variants are the result of a simple reshaping of the original or (2) whether they indicate that the *Sequentia*, the words of the hymn, were written to an earlier, more extended form of the Alleluia Versus.



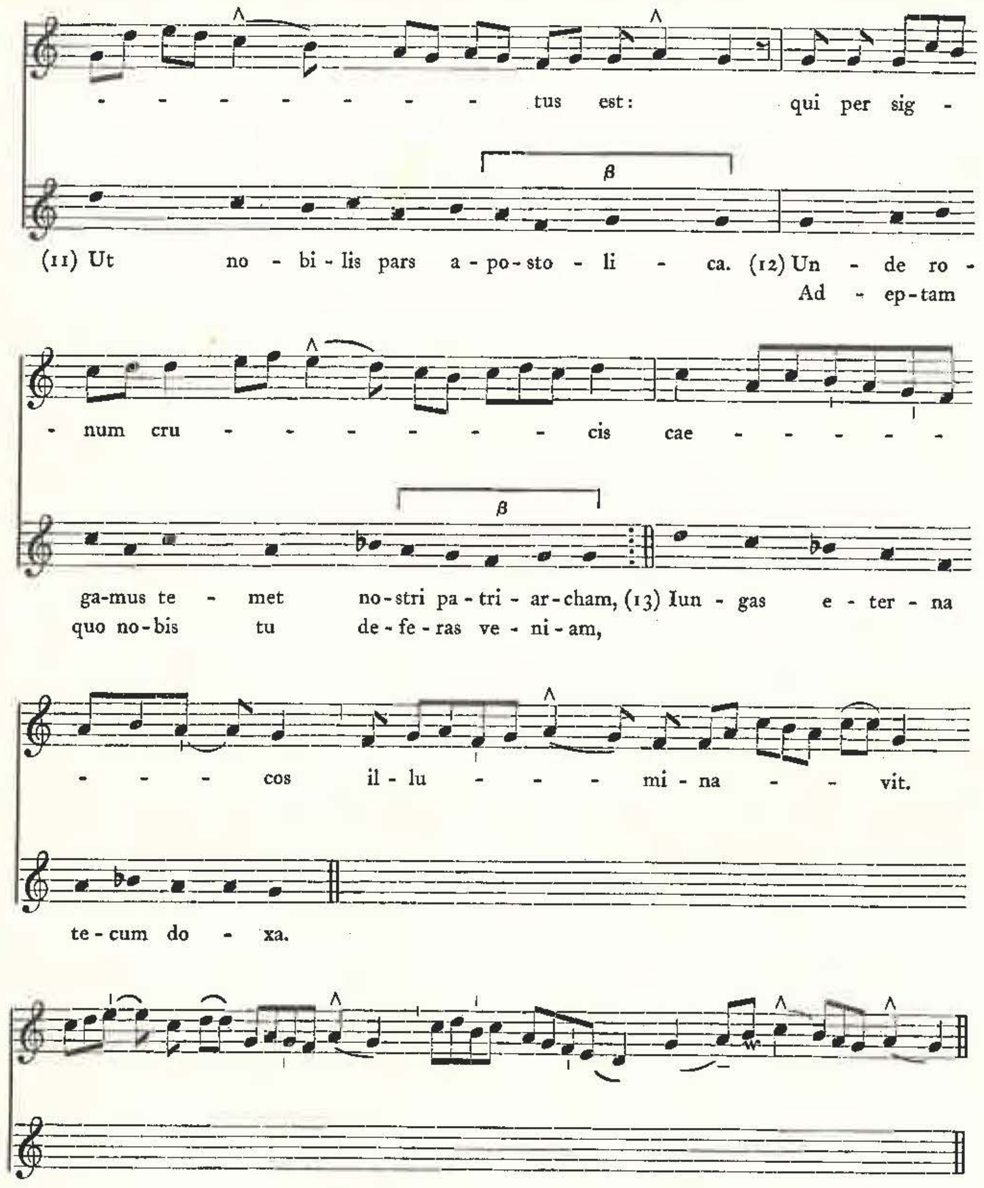
[1] *Zeitschr. f. Musikwiss.* xiii (1930–1), pp. 123 seqq. The neums are Aquitanian 'Dot-neums' of the early diastematic type. As the intervals are not clearly marked in this early stage of notation, Handschin has consulted for purposes of comparison two St. Martial MSS. of the eleventh century, Codd. Paris. lat. 909 and 1138, and a twelfth-century MS. from St. Evroult, Cod. Paris. lat. 10508. In the oldest MS. the Alleluia is omitted, but it occurs in all the three later MSS.

[2] The Alleluia *Levita Laurentius* is sung on the 10th of August in the Mass of the Feast *Sancti Laurentii Martyris*. The transcription into modern staff notation follows the version of the *Editio Vaticana* edited in the *Paroissien Romain* by the Benedictines of Solesmes.

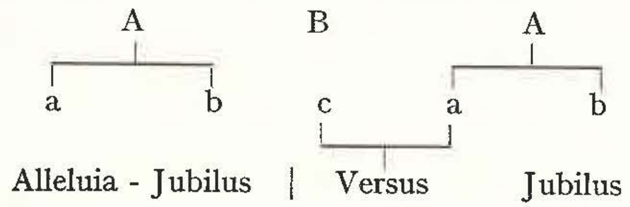
[3] F. Gennrich has already tried to give in his *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes* (Halle, 1932), pp. 97–100, a comparison of the Alleluia-Versus and the Sequence, but the version of the Alleluia shows many divergencies from the *Editio Vaticana* and is incomplete. Moreover, he failed in several parts of the superimposition to distinguish between the intervals, essential for the structure of the melodic lines, and ornaments. Further, it is not advisable to render, as he did, the neums of the Sequence as quavers; I prefer to follow the example given by J. Handschin and to transcribe them simply as dots, without strokes, as we do not know anything about their rhythmical significance.


a
- mus sa - cram hu - ius di - e - i e - u - pre - pi - am. (3) Hinc pre - ti -
- so - lu - ta pul - chri cor - po - ris fau - sta cli - ma - ta. Spi - ri - tus
β
- o - sa pro - bi Mar - ti - a - lis me - ta, (4) Po - li vin - di - ca - rant su -
a - stra, mem - bra com - plec - tun - tur ar - va. Sim - pla u - si - a bis cae -
℣. Le - vi - - ta Lau - ren -
β
- a si - mi - li - a nam - que si - bi a - ri - da. (5) Hinc cla - ret ce - lo
sa stel - li - ge - ra se - de ac flo - ri - ge - ra. Sic u - na co - e -
- - ti - - us
β
a - ni - mam es - se pe - ti - tam, ter - ris et tu - ni - cam.
un - ti - a di - ca - ve - runt e - le - gans De - o dog - ma.


bo - num o - - - - - - pus
β
(6) Er - go hu - ius cla - ra sanc - ti sol - lem - ni - a fit, ut ul - tra ag - mi - na
Quip - pe ter - res - tri - a at - que ni - hi - lo - mi - nus co - lant ce - le - sti - a,
(7) Il - la me - ri - ta de - cen - ter al - ma, hec ob dog - ma - ta in - cli - ta
Ci - ves ce - li - co - le ut col - le - gam om - nes, u - ti a - po - sto - lum
β
et sanc - ta mi - ra - cu - la, (8) E - ia i - gi - tur e - gre - gi - a
su - um A - qui - ta - ni - a. Re - gi - a tol - lens in ex - cel - sa,
o - pe - ra - - - - - - - -
a
(9) Al - mas dic o - das (10) Quo ex - stat ba - si - le - us hic - ce ti - bi pri - mas
Cos - mum sal - vans om - ni - que pres - su - ra li - be - rans



The melody of the Alleluia consists of three parts and shows the form:



A marks the melody of the Alleluia and its Jubilus, *B* the melody of the Versus; the text of the Versus does not end with *B*, but is extended over the repetition of the first part of *A*, namely over its first phrase (*a*). The repetition of the Jubilus (*b*) is without words.

The melody of the Sequence is partly identical with the *Versus Alleluiaticus*, partly widely divergent from it. It consists of the melisma (1) to which the word 'Alleluia' is sung, and of twelve melodic phrases (2–13), of which all except 9, 11, and 13 are sung twice, probably antiphonally, each having two different verses put to the melody. Eight of these phrases end with a cadence; one phrase, the ninth, consists of the cadence.

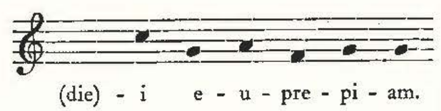
The cadence occurs in two versions: the first (α) is taken from the first group of notes of the syllable 'le' of 'Alleluia', the second (β) is taken from the melisma of the beginning of the Versus, connected with *(Levi)ta Lauren(tius)*; α occurs twice, β six times.[1]



It can easily be seen that most of the divergencies are due to the adaptation of the richly ornamented line of the *Versus Alleluiaticus* to the short verses of the Sequence. This procedure, significant for the new musical technique, can be recognized by comparing the descending phrase of the Jubilus



with the end of the second line of the Sequence, *(die)i euprepiam*



or by comparing the melisma on *caecos* with the cadences of the eleventh strophe, *nostri patriarcham* and *deferas veniam*.

But there are other divergencies which are even more noteworthy. The beginning of the fourth strophe, *Poli vindicarant sua*, the second half of the fifth, *animam esse petitam, terris et tunicam*, the beginning of the sixth, *Ergo huius cla(ra)*, the entire seventh, eighth, and ninth strophes, are built on melodic phrases which have no counterpart in

[1] C. A. Moberg refers in his book, *Über die schwedischen Sequenzen*, i, p. 169, to the occurrence of a restricted number of typical cadences in the oldest group of Swedish Sequences, among which cadence β is quoted.

the Gregorian chant; whereas the repetition of the Alleluia Jubilus (*A*), containing the last word of the Versus, *illuminavit*, and followed by the wordless Jubilus, are not included in the structure of the Sequence.

As has already been mentioned, two explanations can be given of the deviations from the original. The first would suggest that the hymn-writers not only composed the *Sequentiae*, but also expanded the melodies of the Gregorian chants with their own musical additions; the second that the hymn-writers did not use the Alleluias in the Gregorian version, but in a more extended form, prior to the Gregorian reform. The first theory has been advocated by scholars who wanted to claim for the Western hymn-writers not only the merit of having adapted, from the beginning of the rise of the new form of hymnography, new words to already existing melodies, but of having been composers as well as poets. The second theory has been supported by the advocates of the 'Byzantine theory', who considered the Sequences to be a Western imitation of Byzantine hymns. This theory, first put forward by W. Meyer,[1] is based on the striking formal similarity between Kontakion and Sequence. By sharing Meyer's view, P. Wagner strengthened the position of the supporters of the 'Byzantine theory',[2] as he was rightly considered to be one of the greatest authorities in the domain of Plainchant.

But it may still be possible to find another solution which would, to some extent, prove to be a compromise between the two divergent views. This I should like to discuss in the next chapter.

[1] W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittelalterlichen Rhythmik*, ii (Berlin, 1905), pp. 94 seqq., first published in *Abhandl. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.*, I. Cl., XVII, Bd., ii. Abt., 1884.

[2] *Einführung i. d. greg. Mel.*, I, 3rd ed., pp. 253 seqq.; and 'Mittelgriechisches im Gregorianischen Gesang', *Zeitschr. f. Musikwiss.*, xii (1930), pp. 317 seqq.

CHAPTER III

THE PRE-GREGORIAN ALLELUIA

(1)

In a letter[1] which has already been much commented upon, to John, Bishop of Syracuse, Pope Gregory the Great told how he had defended himself, point by point, from the charges brought against him by one who came from Sicily and spoke in the name of friends 'full of zeal for the Holy Roman Church', of introducing customs of the Church of Constantinople into Roman Ritual.

'When I said to him, "What usages of hers [i.e. the Constantinopolitan Church] do we follow?" he replied: "You have ordered Alleluia to be sung[2] at Mass out of the season of Pentecost; you have made appointment for the subdeacons to proceed disrobed [*spoliatos*: without linen tunics]; for *Kyrie eleison* to be said; for the Lord's Prayer to be said immediately after the canon." To whom I replied that in none of these things have we followed the example of any other Church.'

In the present inquiry we have to deal only with that part of the answer which is concerned with the Alleluia.[3] Here Gregory tries to explain that his measure of introducing the Alleluia in Masses *extra Pentecostes tempora* did not mean following the example of any other Church, but was based on an old tradition. The exact meaning of the passage, however, is rather obscure, and has led to contradictory interpretations. The text runs as follows:

Nam ut alleluia hic diceretur, de Jerosolymorum ecclesia, ex beati Hieronymi traditione, tempore beatae memoriae Damasi papae traditur tractum; et ideo magis in hac sede illam consuetudinem amputavimus, quae hic a Graecis fuerat tradita.

The main difficulty in getting the right meaning of the passage obviously consists in the interpretation of the words *illam consuetudinem amputavimus*. C. Blume and H. M. Bannister[4] have suggested, on the authority of P. Wagner's[5] views on the introduction of the

[1] *Gregorian. Epistolarum lib. IX, ep. 12 ad Johannem Syracus. Ep., Patr. Lat.* lxxvii, col. 956.

[2] 'Quia alleluia dici ad missas extra Pentecostes tempora?' *Dicere* in this connexion means 'to sing' and not 'to say'; this meaning becomes quite clear in a passage in the Cluny Troper, Paris. lat. 1087 (11th cent.), fol. 108 v.: 'Incipiunt melodiae annuales in festivitatibus dicendae.'

[3] The part of Gregory's letter dealing with the introduction of *Kyrie eleison* in the Roman Mass has been commented on by E. Bishop in his article 'Kyrie eleison' in the *Downside Review* (1899–1900), reprinted in *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 116–36.

[4] See Introduction to vol. liii of the *Analecta hymnica*, p. xxviii.

[5] *Einführung i. d. greg. Mel.* i, p. 92.

Alleluia into the Roman rite, that these words referred to a shortening by Pope Gregory of the long Alleluias until then in use, though it is obvious that the custom (*consuetudo*) referred to is the singing of the Alleluia in Masses apart from Pentecost. The passage therefore bears on a liturgical and not a musical matter.

The hypothesis of Blume and Bannister was based on the suggestion that it was Pope Damasus (366–84) who, with the assistance of Bishop Jerome, introduced the singing of the Alleluia into Rome, following in this the usage of the Church of Jerusalem, in that it was sung at first only on Easter Day but was soon extended to Easter Week and already, by the fifth century, to the whole Paschal time until Whitsun Week. Gregory the Great, it was supposed, extended its use to the Sundays and feasts of the whole ecclesiastical year, with the exception of days of fasting and penance. Blume and Bannister therefore came to the conclusion that the 'amputation' to which Pope Gregory referred could not have had as object the restriction of the singing of the Alleluia to fewer days, as it was he who gave the greatest possible scope to its singing during the entire ecclesiastical year, but that the word *amputatio* has to be taken in its literal sense, and indicated a shortening of the long melismas of the pre-Gregorian Alleluia.

This hypothesis must be dismissed as wrong. From Patristic writers, especially from St. Augustine, we know that the Alleluia was sung universally in Early Christian times from Easter to Pentecost.[1] Outside this period of the ecclesiastical year, its use varied according to local custom.[2] The theory that the Alleluia was sung at Mass only once a year on Easter Day in the time of Pope Damasus goes back to a passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomenos[3] (*circa* 440), from which it was taken over by Cassiodorus in his *Historia tripartita*[4] (*circa* 550). This account is obviously erroneous, as Bishop Jerome—whom Damasus consulted on this liturgical matter—advised him to limit the use of the Alleluia in Mass to Easter time,[5] but violently

[1] 'Videte fratres mei, si his diebus per totum orbem terrarum sine causa dicitur . . . Alleluia.' August., *in Psalm.*, *Patr. Lat.* xxxvi, col. 177.

[2] 'Ut autem Alleluia per illos solos dies quinquaginta in Ecclesia cantetur, non usquequaque observatur; nam et aliis diebus varie cantabatur alibi atque alibi; ipsis autem diebus ubique.' *Patr. Lat.* xxxiii, col. 220.

[3] '*Πάλιν αὖ ἑκάστου ἔτους ἅπαξ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Ἀλλελούϊα ψάλλουσι, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς Πασχαλίου ἑορτῆς, ὡς πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅρκον εἶναι, τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον ἀξιωθῆναι ἀκοῦσαί τε καὶ ψᾶλαι.*' *Patr. Gr.* lxvii, col. 1476.

[4] 'Apud Romanos in unoquoque anno semel psallunt Alleluia primo die Paschae, ita ut Romani velut pro iuramento habeant ut hunc hymnum audire mereantur.' *Patr. Lat.* lxix, col. 1156.

[5] 'Cliens precatur ergo tuus ut . . . Alleluia semper cum omnibus psalmis affigatur, ut omni loco communiter respondeatur nocturnis temporibus. In Ecclesia autem post resurrectionem usque ad

attacked Vigilantius, whom he calls 'Dormitantius', for propagating *contra Christi spiritum* the idea that the Alleluia should only be sung on Easter Day.[1] J. Glibotic,[2] who has collected these data in a recent study, also notes that the introduction of the Alleluia in Masses from Pentecost until Lent cannot have been the liturgical work of Gregory the Great, as the Rule of St. Benedict (which was well known to him, as a member of the Order) had already prescribed in the fifteenth chapter, that the Alleluia should be sung uninterruptedly from Easter to Pentecost with the psalms and the responsories, but from Pentecost until Lent every night at the Office with the second six psalms. On every Sunday out of Lent, the Rule prescribes further, the Canticles, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None shall be sung with the Alleluia, Vespers with Antiphons. The Responsories, however, except from Easter till Pentecost, are never to be sung with the Alleluia.[3] Though these prescriptions of the Rule relate to the use of the Alleluia in the Office, not in Mass, it becomes evident from the passage that the theory that Gregory extended the use of the Alleluia from a limited part of the ecclesiastical year to the whole is untenable.

A satisfactory answer to the question of what Gregory meant by using the phrase *consuetudinem amputavimus* is given in an article by C. Callewaert[4] on the liturgical work of Gregory the Great, in which it is pointed out that an important part of the liturgical regulations with which Gregory was concerned was connected with the extension of the time of fasting and penance before Easter, a process which had begun in the middle of the fifth century. By these regulations the time of penance was extended from four to seven weeks, namely from Quadragesima Sunday to Septuagesima Sunday. In consequence of these measures, the use of the Alleluia was suppressed in Masses from Septuagesima to Quadragesima, in which it had been sung before Gregory's time.

We have already mentioned another restriction in the use of the

sanctam Pentecosten finiatur, inter dierum vero spatia tibi soli quinquagesimae propter novitatem sanctae Paschae, ut vox ista laudis canatur in Aleph, quod prologus Graece, Latine autem praefatio dicitur.' Letter of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus in *Decreta Damasi Papae*, *Patr. Lat.* cxxx, col. 659.

[1] 'Vigilantius seu verius Dormitantius qui immundo spiritu pugnet contra Christi spiritum . . . nunquam nisi in Pascha Alleluia cantandum.' *Contra Vigilantium*, *Patr. Lat.* xxiii, c. 339.

[2] I. Glibotic, *De Cantu 'Alleluia' in patribus saeculo VII antiquioribus*, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (1936).

[3] 'A sancto Pascha usque ad Pentecosten sine intermissione dicatur "alleluia" tam in psalmis quam in responsoriis. A Pentecoste usque ad caput Quadragesimae, omnibus noctibus cum sex posterioribus psalmis tantum ad nocturnos dicatur. Omni vero dominica extra Quadragesimam, Cantica, Matutini, Prima, Tertia, Sexta Nonaque cum "Alleluia" dicantur. Vespera vero cum Antiphonis. Responsoria vero nunquam dicantur cum "alleluia", nisi a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten.' *The Rule of St. Benedict; A Commentary*, by the R.R. Dom P. Delatte, Abbot of Solesmes, p. 168.

[4] C. Callewaert, 'L'Œuvre liturgique de S. Grégoire', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, xxxiii (1937), pp. 306–26.

Alleluia, to which Gregory refers. While the Greeks sang the Alleluia on all days of the ecclesiastical year, its daily use was restricted in Rome to the Paschal time; during the rest of the year it was sung only on Sundays. Thus the singing of the Alleluia in Paschal time acquired a privileged position.[1] It is to these restrictions in the use of the Alleluia that Gregory obviously refers when he says 'et ideo magis in hac sede illam consuetudinem amputavimus'.

To sum up the history of the Alleluia in the Roman rite up to the reform of Gregory the Great:

(1) According to the testimony of the Patristic writers, both of the Eastern and Western Church, the use of the Alleluia was universal in Early Christian times and extended over the whole ecclesiastical year.

(2) Pope Damasus temporarily restricted its use in Rome to the fifty days from Easter to Pentecost.

(3) From the middle of the fifth century its use was again extended to the Sundays of the whole ecclesiastical year.

(4) Gregory the Great, regulating the liturgical preparation for Easter, and prolonging the period of penance over the three weeks from Septuagesima Sunday to the first Sunday of Lent, suppressed the singing of the Alleluia during this period.

This inquiry into the liturgical development of the Alleluia in the Roman rite has shown that the hypothesis of Blume and Bannister cannot be maintained. Nevertheless one part of their theory is correct, viz. that the long melismas of the Jubilus must have undergone a process of shortening, not by Gregory, as they suggest, but probably in the second half of the sixth century. Such treatment of a part of the liturgy has many parallels in the historical development of ecclesiastical chant and can be explained as made necessary by practical exigencies.

'The main characteristics which go to make up the genius of the Roman rite were essentially soberness and sense.' With these words E. Bishop concludes one of his most brilliant studies on Roman liturgy,[2] after a comparison of the prefaces for Pentecost, one from the Mozarabic, the other from the Roman missal. Whilst the Mozarabic preface extends the commemoration of the great mystery over

[1] Cf. the letter of Joannes Diaconus (later Pope, died 526) to Senarius, a dignitary at the court of King Theodoric, discussing some liturgical questions: '. . . Sive enim usque ad Pentecosten Alleluia cantetur, quod apud nos [in Rome] fieri manifestum est, sive alibi toto anno dicatur, laudes Dei cantat Ecclesia. Sed reservatur aliquid apud nos paschali reverentiae, ut majoribus gaudiis, et quasi mentibus innovatis ad laudem Dei recurrat affectus: propter quod Alleluia, Latino sermone *Laudate Dominum* dicitur.' *Patr. Lat.* lix, col. 406.

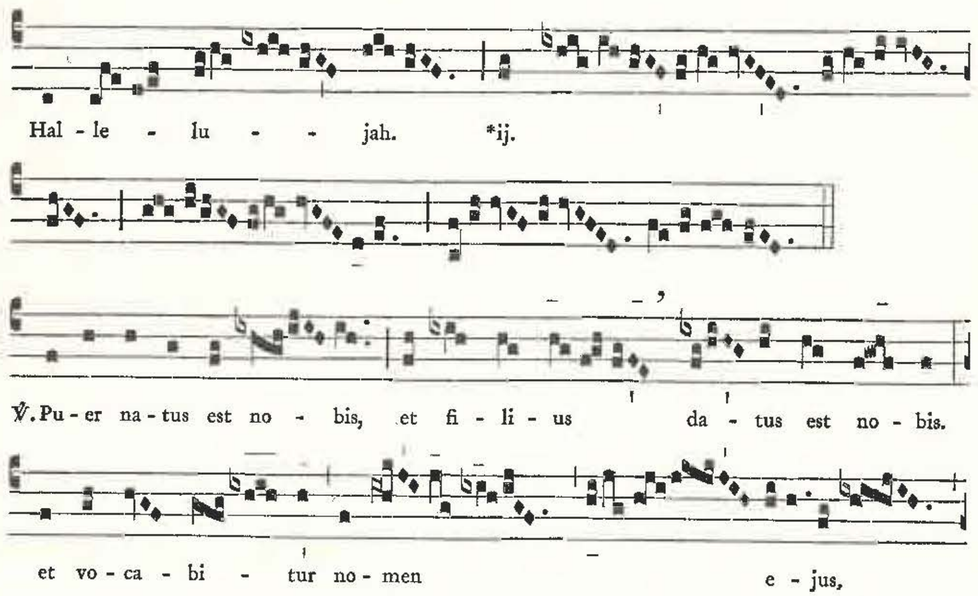
[2] *Liturgica historica*, p. 19, 'The Genius of the Roman Rite'.

some eighty lines, the version of the Roman rite comprises only eight lines. The same conclusion could be reached, as we have seen, by comparing hymns in Syriac or in Greek with the chants of the Roman rite; in all cases we find in the Roman rite the tendency to compress the abundance of Eastern expression into a form in harmony with the spirit of Roman liturgy.

(2)

Though we do not possess any manuscripts containing hymns of the pre-Gregorian period, it is possible for us to form an idea of their structure by examining the Ambrosian Alleluia. This group of chants, more than any other in the Milanese rite, reveals its Eastern origin at first glance by the lavishly developed Jubilus.

There is a noticeable difference between the Alleluias of the Roman rite and those of the Ambrosian. Roman liturgy possesses a great number of Alleluias of different forms. The Ambrosian rite makes use of only a very small number, which are sung on different feasts with different words for the Versus. One of the Alleluias which occurs most frequently is that sung at the second Mass of the Nativity: *Hallelujah. Puer natus est nobis.*[1] The chant consists of three parts: the first comprises the Alleluia and the Jubilus (A), the second the Versus (B), the third a shortened repetition of the Alleluia and an extensive variation of the Jubilus (A i).



[1] See *Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Rome, 1935), p. 38. In the *Antiphonarium Ambrosianum*, Cod. Br. Mus. add. 34209 of the 12th cent. (published in Vol. V of *Pal. mus.*), fol. 70, the Alleluia *Puer natus* occurs on the Feast of St. Stephen.



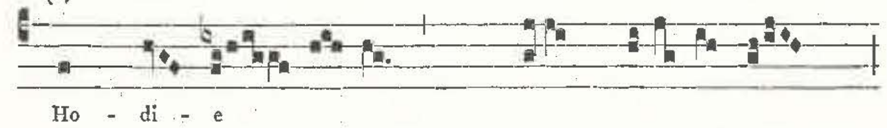
An examination of the Alleluias of the Masses: (1) *In die Nativitatis Domini*, (2) *In Circumcisione Domini*, (3) *In Festo SS. Nominis Jesu*, (4) *In Festo Epiphaniae Domini*, (5) *In Festo Annuntiationis B.M.V.*, (6) *In die Sancto Paschae*, (7) *Feria V in Albis*, (8) *In Ascensione Domini*, and of other festival days, shows that all of them are sung to the same melody as the Alleluia *Puer natus*. In every case the melody of the Alleluia and its Jubilus (A and A i) is identical with the melody of our example. The verses have different texts:

℣. Puer natus est nobis
(1) ℣. Hodie in Bethleem
(2) ℣. Jubilate Deo omnis terra
(3) ℣. Laudem Domini loquetur
(4) ℣. Magi venerunt
(5) ℣. Suscipiant, Domine, montes

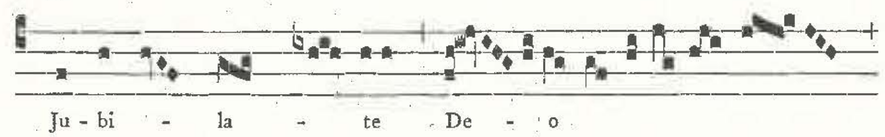
(6) ℣. Pascha nostrum immolatus est
(7) ℣. Cito euntes dicite
(8) ℣. Ascendit Deus in jubilatione

but examination of the verses shows that the melodies are only modifications of the chant of *Puer natus*, or—as we could also put it—adaptations of a single type of melody to different texts; a technique typical of Byzantine music, and also to be found as a constituent element in the structure of the Tracts, which belong, as we have seen, to the oldest chants of the Gregorian repertory, having their origin in the psalmody of the Synagogue. A few examples may suffice to demonstrate the principle of adapting a part of the Jubilus to different verses:

(1)



(2)



(3)



These observations lead us to the following conclusions:

(1) It is impossible to maintain the view, until now unanimously accepted, that Gregory the Great appended[1] verses from the psalms to the Alleluia-Jubilus, which would mean that both melody and text were added by his reform to the already existing alleluiatic chants.

(2) The variations of the Ambrosian model make it evident that the melody of the Alleluia existed in its full form in the scheme A-B-A, before any words were put to part of the Jubilus (B). At a certain date, probably in the time of Gregory the Great, the Alleluia was introduced into the Masses of the whole ecclesiastical year except on days of mourning and penance. The tendency of the Western Church to give its own chant to the Mass of each feast must have been the reason why words were put to part of the Alleluia melody at an early

[1] 'Wann es üblich wurde, dem Alleluia einen oder mehrere Psalmverse anzuhängen, in der Art wie die Handschriften es überliefern, das lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit ermitteln.' P. Wagner *Einführung*, i, p. 93.

date. The Roman Church, by extending the use of the Alleluia, evidently went a step further; the structure of the Alleluia was altered and greater importance was attributed to the Versus, with the result that the part of the Jubilus before the Versus was shortened, the melody joined to the words was brought into closer connexion with the meaning of the verse and the accents of the words, and the repetition of the first part was shortened or eliminated. In following out this evolution, we get the clue to the meaning of Gregory's words *illam consuetudinem amputavimus, quae hic a Graecis fuerat tradita.*[1]

(3)

The fact that we have chosen the Ambrosian Alleluia as the basis for our deductions should not give the impression that this type of Alleluia is to be considered as the pre-Gregorian source on which, at a later date, the Sequences were modelled. But even without accepting the view of L. Duchesne[2] that all non-Roman liturgies were virtually identical, we have to accept as an established fact the very close relationship between the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic liturgies. Consequently, the same assumption must be made regarding the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic chants, of which we are only able to study the first group, the melodies of the Milanese rite, which have preserved their archaic forms, dating back to the times of the Church of Jerusalem, probably to the seventh and sixth centuries, or to an even earlier date. We may assume, therefore, that the Gallican Alleluia had the same musical structure as the Ambrosian, and that both belonged to the extended pre-Gregorian type, which was introduced from the East, from the Churches of Syria and Palestine.

The first development of the Sequences can only have taken place where the rites of the Western Church were not under Roman influence, but had preserved a form of liturgy derived from the Eastern Church. This remains true, whether the rise of Sequence-writing took place in the south of France or in the British Isles.

The view that the Sequences were adapted to melodies of the Pre-Gregorian Alleluia also explains why it was the Alleluia, and a special

[1] Bannister and Blume in the Introduction to vol. liii of the *Analecta Hymnica* and Blume in his article 'Vom Alleluia zur Sequenz', *Kirchenmus. Jahrbuch* (1911), have already suggested that a pre-Gregorian Alleluia must have existed, and have been shortened by Gregory the Great; moreover, that a Gallican form of the Alleluia with an extended Jubilus must have survived the reform of the Roman Church, and that verses were put to it in France, probably in the course of the 8th cent. But only the musical analysis of the Ambrosian type of Alleluia, closely related to the Gallican, can provide the necessary foundation for the hypothesis, and above all explain the musico-liturgical process of combining first verses from the psalms and then verses and strophes of a hymn with the melody of the Jubilus.

[2] Cf. *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed., p. 92.

part of it, the Jubilus, for which the verses and strophes of the new hymns were written. The part of the Mass which offered the best opportunity for introducing a new type of hymn was the place between the reading of the Lesson and the Gospel, or after it, as at these points the action of the liturgical drama stopped for a time. This place was reserved from the earliest days of the Church for the singing of psalms and canticles and, in the Syro-Palestinian Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, for the singing of hymns in Syriac (Memra, Madrasha, and Sôgithâ), and later, in the sixth century, to the Greek translations of this poetical genre, to the Kontakion.

When the Western Church introduced the Alleluia at this point, adopting *consuetudinem, quae hic a Graecis fuerat tradita*, it was first sung, as in the Eastern Church, as a long melisma without words. It was this pre-Gregorian Alleluia to which first one or two verses from the psalms were added, and later on the *Versus ad Sequentias* of which Notker speaks.

The first stage of this process was obviously the replacement of verses from the psalms by others of similar content, the second the expansion of the text of the verses and the building up of strophes. Through this extension of the text, more and more phrases of the Jubilus were gradually combined with words, and finally the originally 'wordless' melisma was transformed into a chant, to which were set verses of a whole hymn, so that the whole of the *longissimae melodiae* was set to words.

(4)

Examination of the structure of the Pre-Gregorian Alleluia reveals an interesting fact. The melody is composed of a large number of phrases, consisting of typical formulae, which are repeated and linked together in the same way as the constituent formulae of the Byzantine melodies of the type of *῞Οτε τῷ σταυρῷ—O quando in cruce.*

The setting of words to these melodies had the effect of slowing down their performance. This process of retardation obviously increased when the melodies were introduced into the transalpine rites, and were sung by priests and monks whose mother-tongue was not Latin.[1] This slowing down destroyed the original rhythmical nuances, and the ligatures of neums lost their meaning. Each phrase was regarded by now as a unity, separated from the others by a short pause. A new musical feeling gradually developed, which furthered the aesthetic appreciation of the single musical phrases of which the whole melody was built up. Thus it was only a step further in this direction to set

[1] We can observe the same process of slowing down nowadays in transalpine countries, though the School of Solesmes insists on a fluid performance of Gregorian chant.

words to each phrase, to individualize the musical phrases to which verses were now joined, and to reshape the end of each by the introduction of a restricted number of musical formulae to act as imperfect and perfect cadences.

A new feeling for symmetry arose in ecclesiastical music, promoted partly by the parallelism of the strophes which were put to music, partly by the influence of secular music. This influence increased substantially during the period in which Sequences and Tropes flourished everywhere. We have also to reckon with the influence which the accompaniment of these chants by the organ and the beginning of two-part writing had on the breaking up of the melismatic formulae.

The Alleluia, once a purely Oriental type of chant, became more and more assimilated in its character, and also in its musical structure, to the Western spirit; yet the Oriental element persisted, even in the later development of the Sequence, as an indestructible basis. But it should not be called a 'Byzantine' element, since in the pre-Romanesque period purely Byzantine influence did not exist. We shall see later on that Byzantine hymns or melodies were only taken over by the West as incrustations. Influence on Western music was exercised—as in liturgy, illumination, and the arts—by the Syro-Palestinian element. The chants of the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch, a great number of them going back to the Service of the Jewish Synagogue, were introduced in the West partly in the first centuries, when Mass was celebrated in Greek, partly in the second half of the fourth century in the time of Pope Damasus (366–84), partly in the last quarter of the seventh century under the Greek popes Agathon (678–81), Leo II (682–3), Benedict II (684–5), and Sergius (687–701). They formed the basic element of Western chant in all its derivations and became fully assimilated, without losing their characteristics, in the process of adaptation to Latin words. Only the Roman rite, not as influential then as it was after the days of the Carolingian Renaissance, transformed the chants by a continuous process of permeation by its own particular features.

These observations may enable us to find another and perhaps more convincing explanation of the fact, already mentioned, that in the Gregorian liturgy the Alleluia was sung both as a Sequence and in its usual form. Our inquiries into the historical development of the Sequences from a transalpine prototype, based on the pre-Gregorian Alleluia, lead us to the conclusion that this originally Western form may well have been used along with the Gregorian Alleluia. We may also accept the view that Sequences and Tropes were sung primarily in monasteries, whilst in cathedrals and churches the Gregorian Alleluia persisted. The same happened with the Tropes for the Ordinary of

the Mass, viz. the *Kyrie*, Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus and with the Tropes for the variable elements, viz. Introit, Offertory, and Communion, and other kinds of Tropes. They all coexisted with the original forms of Plainchant, until the whole movement of writing Sequences and Tropes came to an end during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, having fulfilled its purpose of giving hymn-writers and musicians an opportunity of embellishing the liturgy and of accompanying the action of the Mass with hymns and chants of their own epoch.

This purpose was fulfilled when the range of poetical subjects which could be treated in the form of the Tropes was really exhausted, and the interest shifted from poetry to music. The same thing happened in Byzantine chant when hymn-writing came to an end in the course of the eleventh century, and when musicians tried, from that period up to the end of the fifteenth century, to embellish the melodies with ornaments and passages which gradually lost their original thematic significance and were turned into a kind of coloratura. This change of style in Eastern ecclesiastical music originates in the same tendency which we can see at the same period in Western liturgy: that of adorning the Holy Service by giving an ever-increasing importance to music.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY MEDIEVAL MUSIC

(I)

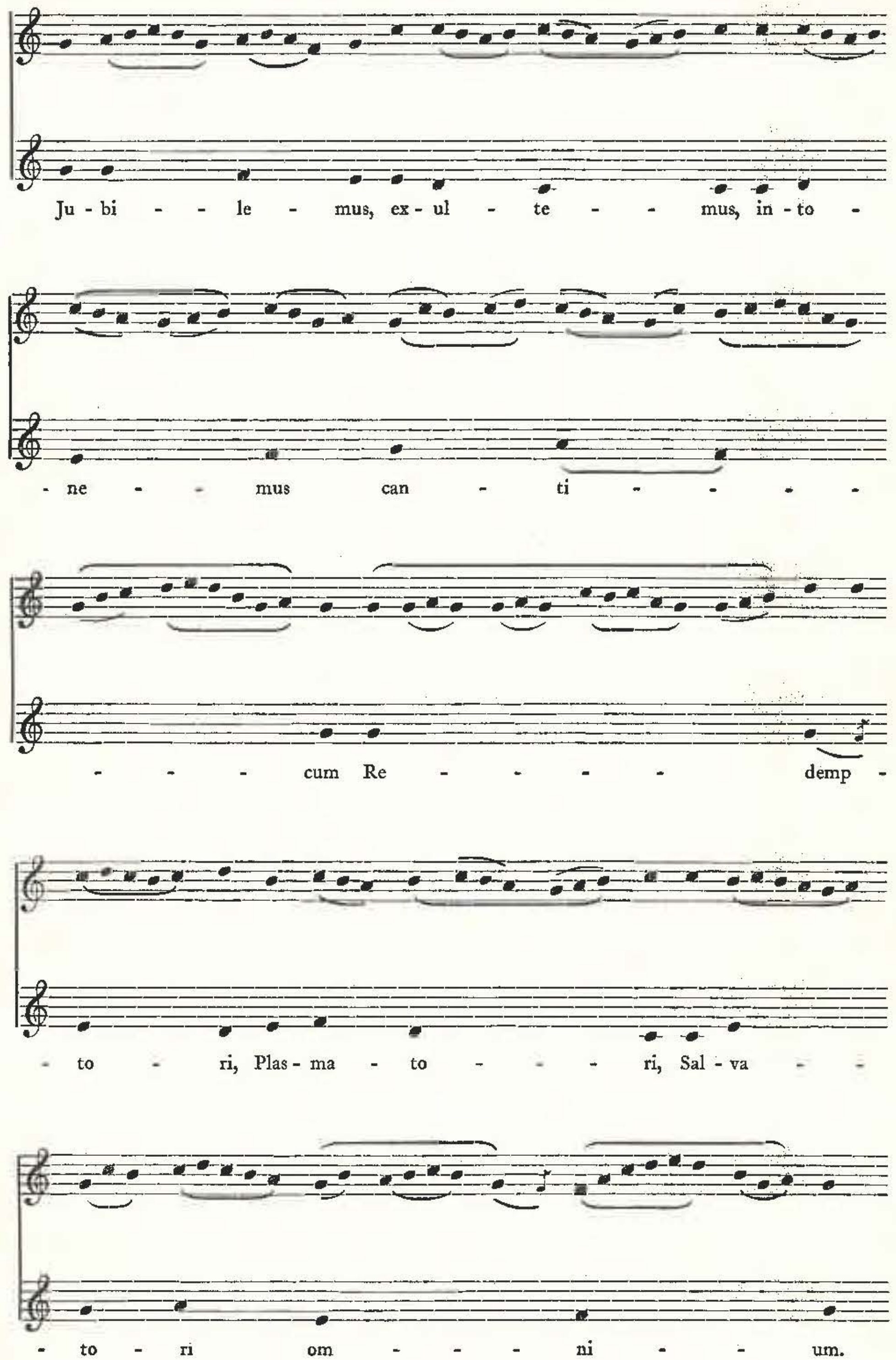
Early Polyphony and the Sequences

It was on the development of Polyphony that Western musicians concentrated their activity after the end of the eleventh century. In the first, primitive period, dating as we can now judge from the ninth to the eleventh century, each note of one part corresponded to one note of the second part. From about 1100 a new stylistic principle emerges. The second part, sung above the principal part, is written in a richly ornamented style: to each note of the Trope melody corresponds a melisma, consisting of three to six or even more notes. The first specimens of the new technique of two-part writing are preserved in manuscripts of the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, written at St. Martial at Limoges.

Fr. Ludwig[1] first drew attention to this group of codices which escaped destruction in the French Revolution, as three of them had been brought, before 1730, from Limoges to the Royal Library at Paris; these are the Codices Paris. Bibl. Nat. lat. 1139, 3719, and 3549. The fourth manuscript, containing two-part Tropes of the 'School of St. Martial', is Codex Add. 36881 of the British Museum. The oldest manuscript of the group is Codex 1139, written in an undeveloped diastematic neumatic notation, which makes transcription difficult. This task was undertaken by J. Handschin, who virtually succeeded in transcribing a troped *Benedicamus S. Marie* of Christmas-time;[2] a few lines from the transcription may illustrate this style of composition, in which the independent treatment of two parts is already fully developed.

[1] *Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter:* I. 'Die mehrstimmige Musik der ältesten Epoche im Dienste der Liturgie', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, xix (1905), p. 2; 'Die Mehrstimmigkeit von etwa 1030 bis etwa 1150', in G. Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed., i, p. 177. Fr. Ludwig was the leading authority on Early Medieval music in the first quarter of the twentieth century; all scholars who write on this particular period are indebted to him for having laid the foundations for a completely new treatment of the subject.

[2] Cf. J. Handschin, 'Die mittelalterlichen Aufführungen in Zürich, Bern und Basel', *Zeitschr. f. Musikwiss.* x (1927–8), p. 13, and 'Über Voraussetzungen der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit', *Schweiz. Jahrb. f. Musikwiss.* ii, pp. 15–16 and 33. (Here only a short example of the *Jubilemus* is given, the transcription showing some slight variations from Handschin's first attempt to render the neums into modern staff notation.)



It may be pointed out that the neumatic notation does not contain any hints as to the rhythmical interpretation. Handschin's rendering of the music, which refrains from any personal interpretation, seems therefore fully justified. Evidently the notes of the *vox principalis*, to which a larger number of neums or notes in the accompanying part correspond, have to be prolonged in singing, but the protraction does not imply any fixed rhythmical order in either of the two parts.

The striking fact in the two-part composition is the alleluiatic character of the accompanying part, marking a renaissance of ornamented melodies, and obviously influenced by the melismatic structure of Gregorian chants. The question is whether the renaissance of the ornamented style simply meant the reintroduction of melodies composed on the same lines and with the same rhythmical principles as the Gregorian chants sung in the period before the rise of polyphonic music, or whether it has to be considered as a sign of a gradually increasing feeling for rhythmical differentiation.

Judging from a similar evolution which took place at the same time in Byzantine, Armenian, and Syrian music, I am inclined to see in the reintroduction of ornaments—consisting of short musical phrases, as they are known to us from the embellished forms of Plainchant—signs of a universally growing tendency to enrich the divine service by an expansion of its musical parts, but along new lines. By combining two parts which had to fit together, a certain rhythmical structure was introduced, by which longer melismas were sung more quickly than shorter ones. Further, the constituent notes of the formulae were gradually lengthened; at first, perhaps, this was done unconsciously, later on in conformity with rules deduced from the practice of singing. Contact with the Eastern way of singing may have influenced the movement in its first stages, by gradually introducing a rhythmical differentiation of single notes and of groups. At a later stage the impulse to adapt the melody to certain groups of rhythms came from secular music, folk tunes, and dances.

This hypothesis may be illustrated by a Byzantine hymn, the Sticheron *Ὅτε Ἰωσήφ*, sung at None on Christmas Eve, and by the Sequence *Planctus Marie Virginis* by Godefroy de Breteuil, sub-prior of St. Victor (†1196).

(2)

Embellishment in Byzantine Music

The Sticheron *Ὅτε Ἰωσήφ* belongs to a group of twelve *Stichera Idiomela* attributed to Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634–8),

sung during the *Paramoni* ('perseverance') on Christmas Eve.[1] Interspersed in the present rite between Troparia and psalms, these monostrophic poems originally formed a unity. They are not only of dramatic character, but when they are put together they form a kind of liturgical drama. The words of the Holy Virgin in the Sticheron *Ὅτε Ἰωσήφ* are the answer to questions of St. Joseph in a Sticheron sung at Prime.

The transcription is made from the text of the Sticheron in Codex Dalassinos, written in 1221 (Cod. Vindob. theol. graec. 181, fol. 92 r.); other thirteenth-century manuscripts consulted are: Codex Vatopedi 1492, fol. 69 r. and 1499, f. 93 v., and Codex Paris. Bibl. Nat. anc. fonds graec. 270, fol. 60 r. The comparison of the *Round notation* of these manuscripts with the *Early Byzantine* notation of Codex Vindob. theol. graec. 136 (X–XI saec.) shows that the structure of the melody has undergone no variations since the tenth century. The Sticheron is written in the second mode.

The first verses of the Sticheron:

Ὅτε Ἰωσήφ, Παρθένε,
λύπῃ ἐτιτρώσκετο
πρὸς Βηθλεὲμ ἀπαίρων,
ἐβόας πρὸς αὐτόν·

spoken apparently by a narrator, are composed in a syllabic style, which is still maintained in the first words of the Blessed Virgin; but already a long melisma is put to the word *ἀγνοῶν*, and a second one, even more extended, to the last syllable of *ἅπαντα*:



[1] The term *παραμονή*, 'perseverance', signifies that on this special day the faithful, instead of leaving the church at the end of Vespers, remain there in order to wait for the beginning of the Vigil. See F. Mercenier et F. Paris, *La Prière des églises de rite byzantin*, ii, p. 97. The name 'Perseverance' is also given to the day preceding Epiphany.



The rest of the melody has the same characteristics as the phrases given here. The affinity in structure between both *Jubilemus, exultemus* and *Ὅτε Ἰωσήφ* is very striking. The similarity can be due to one of two facts: either (1) to the diffusion of Eastern style and technique of composition throughout the entire Mediterranean basin and the Western Hemisphere, in connexion with the artistic renaissance in the Byzantine Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the manifold connexions of the West with Byzantine civilization in the Romanesque period; or (2) to a direct influence on the Tropes and Sequences by Byzantine hymnography. It should also be noted that Byzantine chants of the twelfth century, though melodically unchanged from those of the eleventh and tenth centuries, are rhythmically differentiated by slight nuances, and this process does not stop in the thirteenth and the following centuries, but develops more and more. The same can be assumed, as has already been said, from the melismatic formulae of the *Jubilemus* of the St. Martial school of hymn-writers (p. 187).

(3)

The Influence of Rhythmical Secular Music on Plainchant

An example which demonstrates the completion of the process of fixing the rhythm follows, viz. the beginning of the *Planctus Marie Virginis.*[1] Here a new musical feeling can be noted, and no comment is needed to help us appreciate the qualities of the melody from an aesthetic point of view.



[1] See Fr. Gennrich, *Grundriss einer Formenlehre*, pp. 143–8. The text is printed in *Analecta Hymnica*, xx, pp. 168–9; and in K. Young's *The Drama of the Mediaeval Church*, i, pp. 496–8. 'For its emotional power as well as for its direct relationship to the drama, the most notable of the laments of Mary is *Planctus ante nescia*, composed during the twelfth century', ibid., p. 496.



The existence of music of this kind makes it clear that the West possesses from that date a music of its own, and that Plainchant has ceased to play its part as the main element in Western musical development. The reforms of the Cistercians and the White Canons of Prémontré in the twelfth century, and of the Dominicans in the thirteenth, give evidence of the changed attitude in leading monastic circles to the performance of Plainchant. It demonstrates how much the ideas of reformers of ecclesiastical chant are influenced by Western musical tendencies. There is now on the one hand Plainchant, declining more and more, and on the other, the rise and growth of polyphonic and secular homophonic music. The increasing introduction of polyphonic pieces, substituted for the Gregorian melodies, is an indication that the Catholic Church had entered into a new stage of development. It encouraged, in music as well as in the arts, the artistic production of its own times, and surrounded the liturgy of the Mass with a succession of widely extended pieces of music. It was only after more than a millennium that the demand of Charlemagne was raised again: to restore the Gregorian melodies and to give them back their original shape and rhythm. This was the work of the 'School of Solesmes' and principally of Dom Mocquereau, founder of the *Paléographie musicale.* Its result is the present *Editio Vaticana*, through which the Gregorian melodies are once again sung in the churches as they were sung in the days when Plainchant flourished. But this movement, guided by the idea *Revertimini ad fontem Sancti Gregorii*, could only have been successful at a time when the development of ecclesiastical music—in its epigonical 'Post-Palestrinensian' style, as well as in the Masses written for orchestra and chorus—had come to a standstill.

CHAPTER V

THE BILINGUAL ORGANUM *DIES SANCTIFICATUS* IN THE WINCHESTER TROPER

IN examining the various versions of the Alleluia *Dies Sanctificatus—Ymera agiasmeni* in the third chapter of the first part of these studies, attention was drawn to the rubrics of a thirteenth-century manuscript, Codex Brit. Mus. Egerton 2615, in which were given directions for the singing of the chant. It was pointed out that the note *In pulpito, cum organo* should not be interpreted as signifying the accompaniment of the smaller part of the choir by the organ, but as indicating two-part singing in the manner denoted by the technical term *organum* since the middle of the ninth century. The word *organum* in the terminology of medieval theorists denotes both an instrument or the instrument *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the organ, and a kind of two- or three-part singing, explained for the first time by Scotus Erigena in his treatise *De divisione naturae*.[1] The ambiguity of the term would therefore also admit of an interpretation differing from ours; but the other seems improbable for purely technical reasons in the performance. The rubrics make it clear that the Alleluia was sung in an antiphonal manner in the following way:

In pulpito, cum organo:
Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis.
Alii plures post altare respondeant:
Ymera agiasmeny epyphany imon
Item primi, cum organo:
Venite gentes et adorate Dominum.
Alii post altare:
Teythe ta ethny ke proskenite ton Kyrion
Item primi in pulpito, cum organo:
Quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram.
Alii post altare:
Oti simeron katabi phos mega epi tis gis.
Primi:
Alleluia.

It does not seem very likely that the Latin version and its melody, sung by a small choir, was performed to the accompaniment of the

[1] 'Organicum melos ex diversis qualitatibus et quantitatibus conficitur dum viritim separatimque sentiuntur voces longae a se discrepantibus intentionis et remissionis proportionibus segregatae dum vero sibi invicem coaptantur secundum certas rationabilesque artis musicae regulas per singulos tropos naturalem quandam dulcedinem reddentibus.' Cf. H. Riemann, *Geschichte d. Musiktheorie im ix.–xix. Jhdt.* (1898), p. 18. M. Appel, *Terminologie in den mittelalterlichen Musiktraktaten* (1935), p. 38, states that *melos diaphonia, melos organicum,* and *melodia organica* are identical terms for *organum*, a musical composition in two or more parts.

organ, while the Greek version, sung by *alii plures*, was sung without the support of the instrument. But we may assume that the Latin version was sung by a select choir as an *organum*, whilst the Greek melody, maintained in use as a kind of incrustation, was sung in the old manner, in its original homophonic form.

This view is supported by the two-part setting of *Dies sanctificatus=Ymera agiasmeni* in the group of Organa in the Winchester Troper of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. W. H. Frere has already pointed out that this collection of Organa is 'the most considerable practical document which has yet come to light on the subject of early harmony'[1]; he has also given facsimiles of the bilingual Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus* in his edition of the Winchester Troper on Plates 23 and 24, of both the Gregorian melody and the *vox organalis*. The occurrence of the two-part setting of the bilingual Alleluia gives rise to the following questions:

(i) Where did the Winchester Troper originate?
(ii) From what source did the *Dies sanctificatus=Ymera agiasmeni* come into the Winchester Troper?
(iii) Why are the Organa only contained in the Codex of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, and not in the Codex Bodl. 775?
(iv) What conclusions can be drawn from the occurrence of two-part settings of the group of Alleluias in an eleventh-century manuscript?

Before entering into an examination of these questions it must be mentioned that the text of the Winchester Troper, published by W. H. Frere in the eighth volume of the Henry Bradshaw Society's publications in 1894, is formed from two manuscripts; the first, designated by Frere as CC, is at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the second, designated as E, at the Bodleian Library (Bodl. 775), Oxford. A comparative table of the two manuscripts, given by Frere on p. xxviii of his Introduction to the text, shows their interrelationship. The Corpus Christi MS. is of a smaller size than the Bodleian MS., and less elaborately written. It differs from the Bodleian Troper mainly in the large collection of Organa, which the Bodleian MS. does not contain.

(I) The first of the four questions has already been examined by W. Chappell,[2] W. H. Frere,[3] H. M. Bannister,[4] E. W. B. Nicholson,[5]

[1] See Introduction of the *Winch. Trop.*, p. xxxviii.
[2] *Archaeologia*, vol. xlvi (1881).
[3] *Winch. Trop.*, p. xxix.
[4] Rev. H. M. Bannister's notes on the Winchester Troper of the Bodleian at Oxford, Codex Bodl. 775, are collected in MS. Eng. lit. d. 7 of the Bodleian Library.
[5] E. W. B. Nicholson, 'Introduction to the Study of Some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', *Early Bodleian Music*, iii, pp. xxix–liii.

and J. Handschin.[1] They all agree that the two Tropers were written at Winchester for use at the old Minster, as both contain services for the Translation of St. Swithun and St. Just, and CC has Tropes for St. Ethelwold. They also agree that the Tropers were not copied from an old Winchester source, but from a Troper of the French type. Their views differ, however, with regard to the origin of the prototype. Frere suggests that it may be possible to trace the actual source to Fleury (St. Benet on the Loire).[2] Nicholson, whose study on the Troper of the Bodleian is of book size, holds the view that the Winchester Troper was copied from a Tours Troper. He points out that the prototype could not have been written at Fleury; otherwise the name of St. Benedict would occur in the litany and the Alleluias. The suggestion that the prototype of the Winchester Troper was written in the Scriptorium of the Basilica of St. Martin outside Tours is primarily based on the fact that of the three non-Biblical saints whose names occur in the litanies, none had any connexion with England, and two of them, Hilary and Martin, were special saints of the neighbouring French cities—Hilary of Poitiers, Martin of Tours. The Third, Lawrence, a Roman martyr, was one of the most universally celebrated confessors of the Western Church.[3] St. Martin was a pupil of St. Hilary; this explains why Hilary's name occurs in the first litany, Martin's in the second. In celebrating the memory of St. Martin, devotion is also shown to the name of his master. In view of these considerations, Poitiers is excluded as the place of origin of the Troper. Another argument[4] in favour of Tours is based on the presence of some *Tropi in depositione Sancti Martini Episcopi* and on the verse of an Alleluia 'Beatus vir Sanctus Martinus urbis Turonis requiescit quem susceperunt angeli atque archangeli, throni et dominationes et virtutes' (E, fol. 87). The connexion between Tours and Winchester was first suggested to Nicholson by the Reverend H. A. Wilson, as the Benedictine rule had been introduced to Winchester from Abingdon, and to Abingdon from Fleury; therefore 'an Abingdon monk going to Fleury might very well pay a visit to the celebrated city of Tours, lower down on the same river'.

Before publishing his theory on the origin of the Winchester Troper, Nicholson submitted every point of his inquiries to Bannister. We can see from his study of the Winchester Troper how carefully all the questions were discussed between Nicholson and Bannister, the latter, being vigorously opposed to the Tours theory, bringing forward arguments in favour of Fleury. These arguments are summed up on a

[1] J. Handschin, 'The Two Winchester Tropers', *J.T.S.*, xxxvii (1936), 34–49 and 156–72.
[2] Introduction, *Winch. Trop.*, p. xxix.
[3] *Early Bodleian Music*, iii, p. xxx.
[4] Ibid., p. xxxiii.

sheet of paper, contained in MS. *Engl. lit. d. 7*, which consists of part of Dr. Bannister's notes, correspondence, and papers, which he left as a legacy to the Bodleian. Bannister's main arguments against Tours and in favour of Fleury are:

(1) Any Litany deriving from France must put Martin in a most prominent place, and Winchester was the granddaughter of Fleury.

(2) This All.–VS *Beatus vir S. Martinus urbis Turonis requiescit quem susceperunt angeli*, &c. as written cannot hail from Tours.

(α) It would have run *hic requiescit*.

(β) It would not have left *urbis* independent, but dependent on *episcopus*.

For nearly fifty years the body of St. Martin was hidden at Orleans (not far from Fleury) and was not restored to Tours until 887. Therefore, after that date, one could have written at Fleury *Martinus Turonis requiescit*.

(3) The title of the feast *In dedicatione Sci Martini episcopi* is strange; it does not say *ecclesiae Sci Martini* (as on the next page, *ded. ecc. SS. Petri et Pauli*).

The copyist of the manuscript is very lax in his titles; fol. 50, *decollatione S. Joan. Bapt.*, without the *in*; fol. 35 v, *Sci Stephani*, instead of *Joannis*.

And it cannot possibly refer to the dedication of St. Martin at Tours, which is in July.

Handschin, commenting on the views of Nicholson and Bannister, is of the opinion that the scriptorium of a Benedictine monastery (Fleury) is in general a more likely centre for the composition of Tropes than is that of secular canons of a cathedral (Tours); but that an exception may be made in the case of Tours, which was 'the intellectual metropolis of France'.[1] Handschin, however, is more in favour of Bannister's theory of the Fleury origin of the Troper, though he suggests that 'we ought not to lose sight of the tradition according to which Aethelwold, when still abbot of Abingdon, sent to Corbie for experienced singers'.[2]

I have dealt rather circumstantially with the question of the origin of the Winchester Troper of the Bodleian, which I consider in accordance with Frere, Bannister, and Nicholson to be in the main the earlier manuscript,[3] in order to show how difficult it is to find out the source from which it came. It seems to me that the question of the origin of the Winchester Tropers cannot be approached in isolation, but only in connexion with other manuscripts of the same period. Investigations on the Winchester Troper had started at a time

[1] *J.T.S.*, xxxvii. 47.
[2] Ibid., p. 46.
[3] Handschin's arguments in favour of CC being the earlier MS. are not convincing.

when the St. Gall hypothesis was still considered valid, and continued when the St. Martial hypothesis was discussed. But it has become clear that all the theories which derive the origin of the Sequences and Tropes from any one centre have to be abandoned. A new view must be taken, namely that of the composition of Sequences and Tropes in different monasteries, and of their later collection into Tropers in the scriptoria of monasteries and cathedrals. Some Sequences and Tropes relating to local saints and feasts were added in the customary way; but these additions, representing the local usage, may have been transmitted from one place to another in which the manuscript was copied. Therefore we may assume that the Winchester Troper was copied from a manuscript written at Tours, Fleury, or Corbie, which may itself have been copied from another manuscript containing the local uses of its monastery, and again copied at Abingdon, before the final text came to Winchester. The possibility of local contributions to the Winchester Tropers may be of greater significance for the composition of the content than has hitherto been considered.

(II) There may be, however, a possibility of getting some indications as to the origin of the main bulk of the Sequences and Tropes collected in the Winchester Troper by examining the melodies written to Greek texts or using Greek words, especially the Alleluia Verse, *Ymera agiasmeni*=*Dies sanctificatus*.

We have seen that the Greek text of the Alleluia has been transmitted in several manuscripts of German, French, and English origin,[1] and the 'Greek' melody in an even greater number of manuscripts of German, French, Swiss, Italian, and English origin.[2] This fact proves that the singing of the bilingual Alleluia cannot be traced back to a single source, and indicates a widespread use from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

What is the explanation of this remarkable occurrence? Is it simply a symptom of the interest in Byzantine civilization, so abundantly expressed during the Ottonian Renaissance, or does it signify a more intimate connexion with Eastern liturgy?

I am convinced that it was the latter, and that we have to seek the explanation of the occurrence of the bilingual Alleluia in the diffusion of colonies of Greek-speaking Syrians and Greeks over great parts of western Europe, especially France. We know that this immigration had already started in Roman times, and lasted in its full vigour up to the sixth century A.D. During this period the Syrians were the

[1] Cf. Dom L. Brou, 'L'Alleluia gréco-latin *Dies sanctificatus*', &c. *Revue grégorienne*, xxiv (1939), p. 2.
[2] Ibid., pp. 3 and 4.

most important traders in the Mediterranean; they had the monopoly of transcontinental trade in the sixth century. Through the southern ports they imported into Gaul, among other goods, chiefly wine and olives, and penetrated into the interior of the country along the valleys of the great rivers, upwards along the Rhône, and down along the Saône, the Loire, and the Garonne.[1]

Tours, Fleury, and Orleans are all situated on the Loire; as for Tours and Orleans, it is known that these towns had large colonies of Syrians and Greeks. When King Gunthram came to Orleans on St. Martin's Day in 585, he was greeted with acclamations in Syriac, Latin, and even Hebrew.[2]

Tours was particularly devoted to St. Martin. There were two communities called 'St. Martin', the monastery outside the town, founded by Martin, and the basilica, erected over his sepulchre.[3] The monastery, a Benedictine foundation, was taken over by Canons about A.D. 800. St. Martin, who in 360 founded the first monastery in Gaul, that of Legugé, had formed his ideas of monastic orders from hagiographic treatises from the East; he was in contact with St. Athanasius, and it was the ideal of Oriental cenobitic life which he adopted for his foundations.[4] The application of Oriental customs to religious life was not restricted to externals—it penetrated the whole structure. Gregory of Tours (538–94) mentions Syrian monks in this part of the country at various points in his *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, and it was a Syrian who translated the legend of the Seven Sleepers for him into Latin.[5]

Whether, therefore, the prototype of the Winchester Tropers was written at Tours or at Fleury or even at Orleans, the occurrence of the bilingual Alleluia, *Ymera agiasmeni*=*Dies sanctificatus*, may be

[1] Scheffer-Boichorst, 'Zur Geschichte der Syrer im Abendlande', *Mitteilungen d. Institutes f. österreich. Geschichtsforschung*, iv (1885), pp. 520–50; L. Bréhier, 'Les Colonies d'orientaux en occident', *Byz. Zeitschr*, xii (1901), pp. 1–39.

[2] 'Processitque in obviam eius immensa populi turba cum signis atque vexillis canentes laudes. Et hinc lingua Syrorum hinc Latinorum hinc etiam ipsorum Iudaeorum in diversis laudibus varie concrepabat, dicens: "Vivat rex, regnumque eius in populis annis innumeris dilatetur."' Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum, Monum. Germ. Script. rer. Meroving.*, i. 311. The acclamation is very similar to those sung by the Byzantines in honour of their emperors, e.g. 'Long life to Nikephoros, the Ruler! Honour him, all ye nations, and bow low before the mighty prince!' or, 'May God protect thy majesty, divinely ordained, crowned and protected, mighty and holy for many years.' Cf. H. J. W. Tillyard, 'Acclamation of Emperors in Byz. Ritual', *Annual of Brit. School at Athens*, xviii, pp. 239–60.

[3] Cf. *Early Bodl. Music*, iii, p. xxxi.

[4] Montalembert, *Moines d'occident*, i. p. 229.

[5] Gregorius Turensis, *Liber in gloria martyrum, Mon. Germ. Script. rer. Meroving.*, i (1885), pp. 550–2. The story has the *subscriptio*, 'Explicit passio Sanctorum martyrum septem Dormientium apud Ephesum translata in Latinum per Gregorium episcopum *interpretante Syro* quae observatur VI Kal. Augusti.' Ibid., p. 853. Cf. A. Allgeier, 'Untersuchungen zur syrischen Überlieferung der Siebenschläferlegende', *Oriens Christianus*, N.F., iv. pp. 279–97.

taken as a remnant of a greater number of Eastern chants which were sung in the monasteries on the Loire up to the end of the sixth century, and maintained in use, after the decline of Syrian influence, until a later period. They were not introduced by contact with the Church of Constantinople, but directly from the Syro-Palestinian Churches, as we have been able to state in the other instances. The same may be assumed to be valid for the other Alleluias collected in the Troper, most of them showing the type of the Oriental Pre-Gregorian Alleluia, with its extensively developed Jubilus, familiar to us from the Ambrosian type.

(III) The fact that only MS. CC contains the group of Organa[1] has been widely commented on. Frere, Bannister, and Nicholson have expressed the view that the explanation may be found in the later date of CC. Handschin,[2] on the other hand, has tried to prove from palaeographical considerations that the bulk of CC is earlier than Part A of the Bodleian Troper. The arguments brought forward by Handschin in favour of his hypothesis seem to me unconvincing, though he is certainly right in pointing out that two-part singing started earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, and that the lack of the Organa in Codex E could not be explained from this consideration. At the end of his inquiries, Handschin draws attention to the Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, from which we can see that the care of Organum singing was entrusted to the Succentor.[3] From this Handschin concludes that E, without Organa, was the Cantor's book, CC the Succentor's.

I cannot agree with this suggestion either. CC was certainly the manuscript for the use of the Succentor, as it contained the *voces organales*. But it also contained the *voces principales* for the Cantor. Why should E contain only the *voces principales* and not also the *voces organales*? From Bannister's analysis of E it is clear that the manuscript does not, in its present state, represent the complete Troper in its original form.[4] We are not, therefore, justified in drawing

[1] *The Winchester Troper*, pp. 85–96; see also § V of the Introduction, 'Winchester Music in the XIth Century'.

[2] *J.T.S.* (1936), p. 41.

[3] Ibid., p. 172.

[4] We find in Bannister's *Notes on Bodleian 775*, MS. Eng. lit. d. 7 of the Bodleian, the following sketch by E. W. B. Nicholson on the context of the Winchester Troper:

'ff. 1–7 prefixed and part (e.g. not fo. i) perhaps by the hand which appears in B. Note colours, letter forms especially *g*

A ff. 8–121

B ff. 122–135

C ff. 136–181

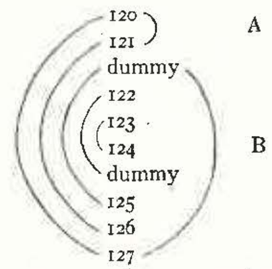
B is distinguished from A, C (1) by hand; (2) by different forms of capitals, especially A; (3) by different ink—note especially the bright red.

any such far-reaching conclusions from the contents of the manuscript, as it is quite possible that E too contained the Organa, before it was bound up in its present form. We can only say that neither from the occurrence of Organa in the eleventh-century Winchester Troper (CC), nor from its absence in E, can conclusions be drawn as to the rise of polyphonic music in England or in France.

(IV) This question has already been partly answered. We need only add that the occurrence of diaphony in the Winchester Troper provides further evidence for the assumption of an earlier beginning of polyphonic writing than has hitherto been generally acknowledged. W. H. Frere has given two facsimiles of the bilingual Alleluia in his edition of the text of the Winchester Troper. The first, on Plate 23, contains the *vox principalis* of *Ymera agiasmeni=Dies sanctificatus* from fol. 2 v. of CC; the second, on Plate 24, the *vox organalis* from fol. 163 r. They are written by different hands, but both show the typically English type of neums, which have a great similarity with those of the north of France. Neums of this character are to be found not only at Chartres, Angers, Troyes, and St. Denis, but also at Orleans, Fleury, and Tours.[1] Those of the French type have vertical, thin strokes; those of the English type are a little more oblique and show a less elegant ductus.

Unfortunately, the Organa are only preserved in the eleventh-

The gathering here is



Hence at least some leaves of B were in the original codex. Further the whole of B was illuminated at one time. For the ink runs out on f. 128a which is certainly of the same time as 127b; and it is not again used in B (nor in the preliminary ff. 1–7; nor from 108b foot-end). Always, however, in A, C another point of likeness between these three later sections is the cloven top of letters. Opening A one would say "late 10th cent." But this must be modified. For the early characteristics—roundness and massivity, absence of tags—pass off as the book proceeds. Hence they are to be attributed to imitation of an earlier exemplar.

Again although comparing the earlier part of A with the latter part of C one would be inclined to assumed two hands, or two different dates, there is no sharp break in the development of letter forms, which are extraordinarily mixed. (Note particularly *r* before and after the beginning of C.) Hence A and C are in the same hand and were written continuously and the date of both must be *c.* 1000 or a little later.'

(Note from Bannister) But A = 984–996 (rededication of Winchester).

[1] See Dom G. Suñol, *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne*, p. 231.

century neumatic notation, which gives no indication as to the exact pitch and intervals; it served as an aid to the singers' memory and was filled in with letters, instructing them to take higher or lower steps, to prolong or to accelerate a group of notes, to increase or to diminish the voice (*t* = *tenete*, *nt* = *ne teneas*, *c* = *celeriter*, *f* = *fragose*, *l* = *levate*, *q* = *equaliter*, *d* = *deprimatur*).[1] It is therefore impossible for us to transcribe the collection of Organa, and we have no chance of learning exactly how the melodic line of the *vox organalis* ran. We can only see, from the facsimiles mentioned above, that we have no longer before us the primitive form of singing in parallels of fourths or fifths, but the beginning of contrary movement. Wooldridge[2] has already pointed out, in his book on early polyphony, that certain passages disclosed 'a more elaborate and extended form than that of the old *occursus*'. The example which he produces from *Ymera agiasmeni*, though it cannot be called a philologically correct transcription, provides us with a fairly correct idea as to the kind of singing intended by the two-part setting in the Winchester Troper.

The collection of Organa in the Winchester Troper makes it necessary to revise our notions about the beginning of Polyphony; but it also compels us, as we have said before, to reconsider the question of the beginnings of measured music, since we can hardly imagine that homophonic music—this includes Plainchant—could have remained entirely unaffected by the new development. It is therefore one of the most urgent tasks in studies on Early Medieval music to start researches on the group of Organa of the Winchester Troper. These inquiries may also throw some light on the possibility of an English origin for the Sequences and Tropes for which French manuscripts can provide no evidence.

The Alleluia *Ymera agiasmeni* is not the only example of a Greek text in the Winchester Troper. We have already quoted the *Hymnus Angelicus. Graeca lingua compositum.* There are some tropes, too, which contain Greek passages or words. Among the *Tropi in depositione Sancti Suuithuni episcopi et confessoris* we find the verse:

Os ky hereos kata tin taxin melchisedech[3]
Ὅτι σὺ ἱερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.[4]

Further we find among the troped *Kyrie* a mixture of Greek and Latin words:

Kirri soter agye supplices imas te exoramus *eleyson*[5]

[1] Dom G. Suñol, *Notation rythmique chartraine*, pp. 143–6.
[2] H. E. Wooldridge, 'The Polyphonic Period', *Oxford Hist. of Music*, i (1901), pp. 75–6.
[3] *Winch. Trop.*, p. 29.
[4] Ὅτι σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ. *Hebr.* vii. 17.
[5] *Winch. Trop.*, p. 49.

or an even more astonishing example of words from different languages in the following troped *Kyrie*:[1]

Adoneus Kyrrius, dominus kyrrion christleison
Hel sother, saluator, messias, christus, unctus, rucha, pneuma.

Greek passages or words interspersed between Latin, as given in these examples, have a different significance. They are not remnants of an old liturgical use but products of learned circles in the time of the Carolingian Renaissance, which were interested in the revival of classical studies. The introduction of Greek words and phrases corresponds to the efforts of Charlemagne to revise the text of the Gospel with the aid of Greek and Syrian scholars; their retention in manuscripts of the eleventh century corresponds to the interest, during the Ottonian Renaissance, in works of art imported from Byzantium.

To this group of Latin poetry belongs the hymn *Ave sponsa incorrupta* in a thirteenth-century Processional of the Nuns of Chester.[2] In the second strophe of the hymn we find a line in Greek:

Altitudo cogitanti
tu in accessibili
immissibile profundum
angelorum oculis
karikaristo menitrotoche partine
sancta dei genitrix ora pro nobis.

The Greek words are the beginning of the Troparion Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, θεοτόκε παρθένε, the Greek original of *Ave gratia plena Dei genitrix Virgo*.[3] The corrupt text of the Greek line shows that the meaning of the passage was no longer understood by either scribe or singers; it was by this time no more than a curiosity.

[1] Ibid., p. 48.
[2] J. Wickham Legg, *The Processional of the Nuns of Chester*, H. Bradshaw Soc., xviii, p. 19.
[3] This hymn was sung, as we have seen (Part I, Chap. IV) during the Candlemas procession. The text of Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη is not taken from the 'Akathistos' hymn, as J. Wickham Legg suggests, but the Acclamations of this hymn are, certainly, very similar to the first lines of the Greek text of the *Ave gratia plena*.

CONCLUSION

This brings us to the end of our inquiries. They have assumed larger proportions than I had originally intended to give them when I planned the scheme of these studies. For in the course of my investigations it became evident to me that Eastern influence on Western chant and on the development of Early Medieval music was of much greater importance than I had assumed at the beginning. We have seen that scholars were right in speaking of Eastern influences on Plainchant; but it was a mistake for them to build up the 'Byzantine' hypothesis, and to suggest that the Eastern influences were due to the Church of Constantinople. The comparison of Byzantine melodies and of Plainchant has made it clear that both were rooted in the chant of the Churches of the Early Christian age, which derived partly from the chant of the Jewish Service, partly from hymns in Syriac, composed on the model of these chants and translated later on into Greek.

Our investigations have further shown that a great number of these chants were introduced into Western liturgy at an early stage of its development. With the exception of Rome and the territory belonging to its canonical jurisdiction, the melodies were in use in all the Western Churches in their original form, without major alterations, up to the Carolingian reform, and even later. In Rome the melodies underwent the same process of transformation which we can observe in all other parts of its liturgy, a process which started long before the reform connected with the name of Gregory the Great.

Some of the Eastern chants, however, held such a prominent place in the divine service that they were kept in their original form with Greek text, and sung bilingually. The analysis of one of these chants, the Troparion *Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ*, has given us evidence that hymns of this kind were of Eastern origin, as the text of the hymn was to be found in a Georgian Kanonarion, based on an *Ordo* of the Church of Jerusalem dating from the first part of the seventh century, and the melody was traced back to the oldest Byzantine musical manuscripts we possess, dating from the tenth century. From the musical analysis of this document we passed on to compare melodic formulae of Ambrosian and Gregorian chants with those of Byzantine hymns, and were able to discover a close relationship between them. In the fourth and last part of our studies we examined the question of the origin of the Sequences and Tropes. Here, too, we had to deal with the 'Byzantine hypothesis', and were able to demonstrate that these forms of Ecclesiastical poetry were adapted to the original Pre-

Gregorian, i.e. to the Oriental Alleluia. Sequence-writing, we have seen, was not a process of musical composition, at least in the beginning: it was a literary development through which the long Jubili of the Alleluias have been preserved. The inquiries into the rise of the Sequences and Tropes led us finally to examine the collection of Organa in the Winchester Tropers, and especially the bilingual Alleluia *Dies sanctificatus*, the occurrence of which we tried to explain.

By these investigations I have tried to give a survey of the history of bilingual singing from the fourth to the thirteenth century, from the time of the pilgrim Etheria to the *Agios o Theos* in the Worcester Antiphonary. I know best how fragmentary this undertaking is; I should, indeed, have liked to examine in a more comprehensive manner the penetration of the Eastern spirit into the West, both in music and poetry, and to demonstrate its transformation through the rise of the special creative powers of the West in the Early Middle Ages.

Many points, however, must first be fully clarified before the history of the growth of Early Christian chant in the East can be written, and a survey of its expansion to the West and its adaptation to the various rites of the Western Churches can be given. For a work of this kind, which is urgently needed, I wanted to prepare the ground by showing that both Eastern and Western chant can no longer be treated independently of Early Christian music, the source from which both derived.

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